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FBIS-EEU-94-183 *21 September 1994*

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Italian Minister Comments on Immigration, Greece

AU2009201694 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 15 Sep 94 p 1

[Report by "c.bo": "Minister Martino: 'We Will Intercede With Greece'"]

[Text] Tirana—"The illegal emigration of Albanians to Italy will be blocked, especially as the public demands it," said Italian Foreign Minister Martino during an official visit to Tirana, confirming his government's intention to curb the unabated flight of Albanians toward the Italian shores of Pulia. He knew nothing, he said, about any plans to use the Marines, but regarding what would be done, he confirmed the solution given earlier in his interview for GAZETA SHQIPTARE: "Agreements on seasonal employment must be reached because I believe that this is a good way of regulating the influx of refugees."

During the few hours of his stay in Tirana, the top Italian diplomat spoke for a long time about this problem with all the high- ranking officials of the Albanian state, including President Berisha, Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi, and Foreign Minister Alfred Sereqi. However, at the close of the talks, he tried to pour water on any suggestion of discord: "We should not dramatize," he said, "but the problems exist and they must be tackled, especially because the question of the clandestine refugees contains the risk of lending support to those who believe in Italy's isolation from the outside world." It was a statement that immediately drew attention as implying something very serious and which Martino was very quick to elaborate on: "The immigration question does not enjoy public favor in Italy because it very soon gets mixed up with the problem of clandestine refugees, with all the implications that has. We intend to combat clandestine immigration simply in order to put legal immigration back into a less controversial context."

The remainder of the visit focused on discussions with Albanian officials on two major topics of the day: the development of bilateral relations and the Greek-Albanian crisis. Regarding the latter, Martino categorically denied having been given any mandate by anyone to mediate: "The crisis between Albania and Greece is unfortunate," he said, "and we will use every possible means to make the two parties concerned sit down and negotiate with a view to resolving the situation, which is disturbing because it is happening in this very instable region. However, no one has given us any mandate to mediate...."

Referring to his talks with Greek Minister Papoulias in Germany, Martino had a long conversation with Foreign Minister Sereqi, inviting the latter's government—"as I have already done with Papoulias," he said—to show "greater maturity." The problem of the European Union aid to Albania that was blocked by the Greek veto was not excluded from the talks. "Greece is persevering in blocking it, but if anyone asks us to act, we are ready to intercede in order to unblock it."

The fear that Greek-Albanian relations might degenerate into Balkan-wide tension was not evident, and as far as relations between Albania and Italy are concerned, Martino was very optimistic. "They have been good in the past," he said, "and they are very good at present and will surely be much better in the future." In his meetings with other ministers, he discussed the main directions of future cooperation, such as transport, telecommunications, and culture. Martino announced the possibility of signing agreements on the reconstruction of the Albanian telephone network and water supply system. He also promised that a number of cultural agreements in various fields, an agreement on delayed scholarships for Albanian students, and another on the press and information would be signed. All this, he added, viewed in a context of a more general agreement, would result in "the encouragement of foreign investment in Albania." These very good intentions were concluded with an appetizer that the Albanian authorities offered the Italian correspondents present, the favorite cafe being "Bar Berlusconi," of course.

President on Tolerance, Harmony With Minority

AU2009144494 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 17 Sep 94

[Report by Reis Cico—passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] Albanian President Sali Berisha is visiting southern Albania today. He arrived in Livadhja Commune, which is mainly inhabited by a minority community, in Sarande District this morning to talk with some of the residents.

After Livadhja Commune Chairman Kristo Gjika conveyed his greetings, he turned the floor over to President Sali Berisha.

[Berisha] "I have come here to talk to you. As your president, I would like to convey to you my deep honor and respect and that of the whole Albanian nation for the stance, harmony, tolerance, and understanding that you have shown and always show for the entire Albanian nation."

I want to point out, Berisha continued, that tolerance and religious and interethnic understanding, which characterizes your areas and all of Albania, is an excellent example not just for our region, but it is the greatest and most powerful message that so poor a country as Albania can transmit to Europe and the world. Berisha underlined that our great force, one of the strongest sources of our current and future development, lies precisely in Albania's interreligious tolerance and in the interethnic tolerance of your areas. No one, he said, cannot identify a minority with sick nationalism. [sentence as heard]

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Regarding coexistence and understanding, Mr. Berisha said:

[Berisha] "I am convinced that harmony and understanding among us has deep roots. I am also convinced of the undeniable fact that if Greeks and Albanians—being perhaps the most ancient neighbors of this continent—look at their history, they will find many more things to unite them and much greater cooperation, rather than waves and misunderstandings. On the other hand, harmony, cooperation, coexistence, and good understanding are based on our common struggles, efforts, and sacrifices for freedom."

No one has been and will be able to shake this tolerance and confidence, the president said. Your great merit is, he continued, that you had the wisdom, maturity, and determination to preserve this tolerance and understanding with Albanians as the most precious things, even in this crisis period in Albanian-Greek relations. If extremists and chauvinist nationalists, Berisha continued, managed to set fire to the hotheads in Athens and engulf Albanian-Greek relations in a crisis, they failed and did not manage to infringe the excellent relations of minority people with the Albanians.

President Berisha confirmed once more:

[Berisha] "I want to ensure the minority people that, apart from the extreme nationalist stances that are observed in Athens today, I will again insist on dialogue, I will again invite the Greek Government for dialogue, because I am still convinced that in the great space of the ancient tradition of cooperation and coexistence between the two countries, there are many possibilities to reach understanding and resolve disputes through dialogue. And I do not at all consider dialogue as unserious. I want to assure you."

Regarding pieces of land, Berisha said:

[Berisha] "I greet the Constitutional Court that the day before yesterday turned down their claim with a final decision. You will enjoy the land, will enjoy all the rights that pertain to you."

You, the minority people, are an important factor in developing democracy and the market economy in this country. You are a minority, but in the specter of pluralism, you are an irreplaceable asset. I should tell various extremists who read Zhirinovskiy's lessons that the attitude toward a minority is a great test of the majority's morale, a great test of the attitude toward freedom, Berisha said.

Berisha then spoke about the government's latest decision. According to the decision, this year in the areas where the minority does not form the required number to create a school, they will set up classes and we will create the opportunity to attend the nearest Greek language school by ensuring transportation. You have deserved and do deserve this, Berisha said, because all those who fight for freedom deserve it, and your efforts have been extraordinary.

President Berisha then called upon them to strengthen the spirit of cooperation and friendship, the spirit of coexistence of free people as the most certain road of building another future and integrating Albania into Europe.

President Berisha then held conversations with some of the rally's participants. One citizen told Berisha that the minority people are ready to convict the five people for taking money from them. However, this should not influence relations between Albania and Greece. Berisha answered: I am not a lawyer, I am your president. Anyway, he continued, I want to assure you that no one can identify them with the minority. They cannot be identified with OMONIA either, and it is not at all a question of outlawing this organization based on the fact that five of its members have violated the law. It is the membership and the OMONIA delegates that in their congress here in Sarande several months ago rejected the political platform of some adventurers. On the other hand, I want to make it clear to everyone that no one or no force will be able to hinder the functioning of the law-governing state in Albania or the legal responsibilities, with no discrimination, for those who violate the law. Here, there is no room for and cannot be any comment or compromise because not only the individual but the whole society would have suffered from this.

After the meeting, President Berisha held another meeting in one of the halls of the Livadhja club with the chairmen of the Livadhja Commune and the district council, who discussed various problems in this area.

President Berisha is continuing his visit to southern Albania.

Arbnori Addresses Assembly Session About Greece

AU2009195494 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 19 Sep 94

[Report by correspondent Timo Luto]

[Text] The sixth session of the 13th convocation of the People's Assembly has opened in Tirana. With a new and modern communications system, the session opened at 1700 this afternoon. Opening the session, People's Assembly Presidency Chairman Pjeter Arbnori said:

[Begin Arbnori recording] Over the past seven weeks, there have been important events to which parliament cannot remain indifferent. There has unfortunately been a worsening of Albanian- Greek relations, the superficial cause of which was the trial of five Albanian citizens of Greek nationality convicted for espionage and illegal possession of arms.

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From the rostrum of this assembly, I declare that the constitutional Law on Fundamental Human Rights and Freedoms, which includes minority rights, will always be implemented in Albania. We will never confuse five citizens who violated the law with the Greek minority community who have always lived in peace and friendship with Albanians, have suffered with us under dictatorship, and are building democracy together with us.

I call on realistic and moderate circles and every party in Greece to assist in reestablishing dialogue with the good aim of strengthening friendship and cooperation. [end recording]

Mr. Arbnori further focused on several phenomena and events, such as the hunger strike by the political prisoners and persecutees. Regarding the debate on the draft constitution, he stressed:

[Begin Arbnori recording] The significance of the constitutional assembly as proposed by the president goes beyond its approval by 150 deputies in parliament. What is important is that everything be approved in accordance with the law. If some people think that the assembly is too limited, democracy offers unlimited legal means for expressing the people's will. [end recording]

Mr. Arbnori also focused on the distress caused by the cholera outbreak in several districts of the country. Mr. Arbnori then read out the working agenda of the session proceedings and declared that the session will end on 23 November.

The deputies who took the floor made remarks and suggestions about the program, after which today's proceedings ended. The assembly's plenary session will resume at 1000 tomorrow.

Appeal Trial of Alia, Politburo Members Opens

AU2009195594 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 19 Sep 94

[Report by correspondent Marash Mirashi]

[Text] The appeal trial of Ramiz Alia, former Albania's last communist president, and nine other defendants that were high-ranking party and state functionaries of the former communist regime began at the Tirana Appeals Court today in the presence of correspondents.

The court is presided over by Bashkim Cami, with Ariana Fullani and Tom Ndreca as assistant judges. Ndue Gjoka is the defense prosecutor. A team of defense attorneys was also present in court.

For various reasons, defendants Alia, Carcani, Myftiu, and Haderi did not appear in the courtroom, giving their attorneys the right to defend them.

After the court's verdict on the defendants was read, a verdict that television had broadcast for its viewers, presiding Judge Bashkim Cami handed the floor over to the defense attorneys.

Kleanthi Koci, Ramiz Alia's defense attorney, first read a letter that his client had sent to the court. In this letter, former President Alia considers the Tirana Court's verdict to sentence him to nine years imprisonment to be unfair, arbitrary, and political. The letter further states that his conviction runs contrary to the Constitutional Law on Basic Human Rights and Freedoms and that no evidence to find him guilty had been presented during the trial. Through the letter, the former president asks the Appeals Court to remedy the Tirana Court's mistake.

Defense Attorney Koci [word indistinct] naturally with his client. He tried to politicize the trial, but interventions by the presiding judge and prosecutor were effective. Attorney Koci demanded that Ramiz Alia be declared innocent.

The attorney for defendant Marko presented his claims on the Tirana Court's mistakes. He said that there do not exist figures [word indistinct] for the defendant. On his part, defendant Marko presented claims over his eight-year term, comparing it with Carcani and Myftiu's five-year suspended sentences.

The attorneys of defendants Simon Stefani, Aranit Cela, and Rrapi Mino demanded that the Tirana Court change its verdict, which they found erroneous.

Meanwhile, the defendants claim that they have worked honestly and with devotion, without violating the state's laws:

[Begin Stefani recording] I have worked in the sectors that the party had appointed me with honesty, correctness, and always based on laws. I have responded to party laws, regulations, and duties, just like all the party members who had joined the party at that time. For 28 consecutive years, I have never, never created myself privileges neither when I was elected to the party forum as a Politburo member nor when I was performing other very important functions in the districts, economy, and petroleum field. [end recording]

All the words of the defendants had almost the same refrain.

[Begin Stefani recording] I plead not guilty. [end recording]

The trial will resume tomorrow.

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SDS's Dimitrov Predicts December Elections

AU2009164894 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Text] The National Assembly faction of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] has reaffirmed its refusal to accept the mandate to form a new cabinet. Tomorrow at 1200 [0900 GMT] the faction's leadership will officially return the mandate to the president.

Elections will take place at the beginning of December. This is the forecast of Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the SDS National Coordinating Council. The SDS has begun intensive election preparations. The election of new members of the Supreme Judicial Council after the decision of the Constitutional Court is a serious violation of the constitutional order in the country, Filip Dimitrov said.

He pointed to the murder of the chief witness in the prison camps case as a part of the attempt to intimidate and demoralize the people.

The SDS will oppose all attempts to impose censorship on the mass media during the election campaign and will oppose the passing of an election bill that will infringe upon the people's freedom.

SDS, Democratic Change Leaders Discuss 'Crisis'

AU2009151094 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Text] On 20 September at 134 Rakovski Street [headquarters of the Union of Democratic Forces—SDS] the leaders of the SDS and the Party for Democratic Changes had their first official meeting.

According to Mehmed Hodja, leader of the Party for Democratic Changes, the meeting was arranged by mutual agreement and dealt with the cabinet crisis. He also said that at the current stage any form of cooperation between the SDS and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] is out of the question.

Commentary Says Formation of New Cabinet Likely

AU2009195294 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 15 Sep 94 p 4

[Commentary by Konstantin Subchev: "Fight to the Finish"]

[Text] Following the outright refusal of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] to form a government and the lack of clarity regarding the attitude of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] to the issue, the nation's gaze is now concentrated on how the next parliamentary group—the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS]—will behave. This is not only because the outgoing cabinet was formed under a DPS mandate, but because [DPS leader] Ahmed Dogan has more than once demonstrated his ability to give the Bulgarian politicians bloody noses by his unpredictable actions.

However, the situation no longer depends on Dogan's qualities as a politician. At issue is that far from everyone at 20 Pozitano Street and 134 Rakovski Street [BSP and SDS headquarters, respectively] is ready to submit to party discipline. At issue is not determining who will accept a mandate to form a cabinet, but preventing new elections. With this aim in mind—an aim that the majority of the parliamentary deputies regard as sacred—the specter of a new cabinet becomes increasingly real. In addition to the votes already cast against elections by the DPS, Democratic Alternative for the Republic, and Pushkarov and Ludzhev supporters, no one can guarantee that the Democrats who support Stefan Savov will show any enthusiasm for elections. The same is true of the Radical Democrats who stand behind Aleksandur Dzherov and of those deputies who simply believe that the current mandate represents their first and last opportunity.

Accordingly, the fight to prevent early elections will be waged to the finish. In view of the nature of Bulgarian politics, this fight is very likely to be won by the people about whom Aleko [Konstantinov, Bulgarian writer] said that when they say the word "people," they are thinking about their own pockets.

Outgoing Prime Minister: Further Problems in Army

AU2109063894 Sofia 168 CHASA in Bulgarian No. 36, 12-18 Sep 94 p 21

[Interview with outgoing Prime Minister Lyuben Berov by Zoya Dimitrova; place and date not given: "Problems With Very Unpleasant Consequences Are Coming to a Head in the Army"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Dimitrova] Is one to understand that something that happened in the Consultative Council on National Security had an important bearing on your decision to resign?

[Berov] No, I said nothing in the council, you understand.

[Dimitrova] The question is not whether you said anything, it is whether something connected with the council had a decisive influence at that particular juncture.

[Berov] It was not the most important thing, but I saw that things were taking a turn for the worse.

[Dimitrova] In what respect?

[Berov] In the sense that problems were appearing in the Army that I did not manage to overcome. I tried to stop the issue of the colonels from becoming a reason for declaring war, but I failed, although I tried three or four times to convince those concerned not to inflate the importance of this problem. It is impossible for 274 colonels to become the main problem facing a country.

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They were the formal grounds for the breaking out of the conflict, which ended up in a row over the dismissal of General Petrov [chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff]. I had no choice but to dismiss Gen. Petrov. However, this implies that in fact problems are coming to a head in the Army that may have unpleasant consequences.

[Dimitrova] In your view, have these problems subsided now or do they continue?

[Berov] At the moment, they have been, so to speak, pushed into the background. They have been deferred for a time. For example, if you and I have to get a divorce, we may be able to put it off for a week or two, even a month, we may agree to stop quarreling until a certain date. However, the situation remains the same.

[Dimitrova] In your address to the Bulgarian people, you used the phrase: "Let us preserve democracy." Do you have any fears for the country's future?

[Berov] Yes, I do. First, due to the fact that the confrontation between certain forces in parliament may lead to the imposition of a dictatorship as a way of solving the political crisis. This is precisely why I said that we should solve it by democratic means, not through a dictatorship. This is what I had in mind.

[Dimitrova] What are your predictions for Bulgaria's development?

[Berov] We must certainly hold new elections before the end of the year. It is not important whether they are held in November or December, but they must be held according to the majority system or a mixed majority-proportional system. We must elect some kind of new parliament. Whether or not this parliament will be worse than the current one, as some people who do not want elections are saying, lies in God's hands, as the saying goes. We should not be soothsayers and try to compete with Grandma Vanga [famous Bulgarian fortune-teller] by declaring that the next parliament will be a better one or not. Whatever kind of parliament it is, it will in some way or other reflect the people's will. [passage omitted]

Commentary on Assembly's Moral, Political Failure

AU2009145994 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 17-18 Sep 94 p 4

[Commentary by Rumyana Bratovanova: "(Lack of) Principles by Choice"]

[Text] The events in parliament yesterday show that our disgraced deputies do not miss a chance to bring further shame upon themselves. Amendments to the Constitution are not only not what the people need most at the moment, but are also dangerous for the spirit of democracy. Nevertheless, we will have to listen to the deputies futilely politicizing the country's supreme law, while we as taxpayers give out money to maintain a parliament that has failed both morally and politically.

A further example showing that parliament leapt like a dog to seize the bone of fleeting political advantage is the supersonic speed with which the National Assembly filled its membership quota in the Supreme Judicial Council. The SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] group, as is well-known, demonstratively walked out of the debate, instead of fulfilling its duty to act as an opposition. As a result, it was not difficult for the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], only hours after the Constitutional Court had ruled that the incumbent Supreme Judicial Council is legitimate, to appoint its own people to a new, hypothetical Supreme Judicial Council that has to be knocked together in the 18 days (maximum!) remaining until the Constitutional Court's ruling takes effect. The SDS will certainly lodge a protest with the Constitutional Court if the absurd plan to elect members to the second Supreme Judicial Court at breakneck speed succeeds. Thus, the deputies are wasting further time and political energy, instead of resolving the governmental and economic crises.

The sweetness of the victory in the gamble with the heads of Tatarchev [chief prosecutor] and Grigorov [president of Supreme Court] contains a drop of gall. However, the SDS parliamentary group, in which the disagreements appear irreconcilable, did manage to unite on an important issue.

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Candidate for Defense Minister Named

LD1909212694 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 2100 GMT 19 Sep 94

[Text] According to the latest information, the candidate for the post of defense minister is Vilem Holan. Just a little while ago, this was confirmed by Josef Lux and Vaclav Kalus.

Up to now, Holan has been director of the Department of Asia, Africa, and Latin America of the Foreign Ministry. He is a member of the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party and is 56 years old. He was a deputy of the federal parliament for North Moravia.

Klaus Praises Nominee

LD2009115794 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1000 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Text] Vilem Holan announced today that he has agreed to be the KDU-CSL [Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party] candidate for the post of defense minister. Holan, a member of the People's Party and currently departmental director at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, will thus replace his party colleague Antonin Baudys, whom the KDU-CSL Presidium dismissed yesterday.

Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus spoke to Czech Radio about the candidate:

[Begin Klaus recording] I would like to say first that, as prime minister, I have yet to have serious talks with Mr. Holan. Those talks have not yet taken place, so let us not anticipate events.

I think that Mr. Holan, whom I have many times seen and experienced in action, so to speak, has one significant qualification for this work and that is his experience in the sphere of foreign policy. It is absolutely clear that the minister of defense is in fact the second person within the government after the foreign minister whose words on foreign policy matters are monitored with special attention around the world. In this sense, I believe that the new candidate-designate of the People's Party for defense minister certainly can play this card and this role positively.

I do not think he has the appearance of a soldier, so I do not suppose he will look as imposing in green battle dress as Minister Baudys did, nor do I think he will go shooting on firing ranges or such.

What I would most like to talk to him about concerns his views on managing a complicated mechanism, such an extensive machine as is the Ministry of Defense and the Army generally. [end recording]

Further Klaus Comments

LD2009164694 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1030 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Excerpts] Premier Vaclav Klaus spoke on Czech Radio today about the personality of the future minister of defense, Vilem Holan, and also gave Miroslav Konvalina his views on the recall of Antonin Baudys. [passage omitted]

[begin recording] [Konvalina] Prime Minister, Czech Radio is probably the first communications medium to talk to you about the new minister of defense. I should like to take this exclusive opportunity to ask you questions about the outgoing politician. You said on behalf of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] that the proposal to recall Antonin Baudys was not the result of the pressure of the strongest Czech party. Could one thus say that we would not have seen the change in the key post of defense minister without the intiative of the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party [KDU-CSL]?

[Klaus] The question is somewhat misleading because we are a coalition government, and, in this sense, to start destroying the coalition government by exerting pressure for the recall of a minister from a different political party would be completely undesirable. We all know that it would lead to complete destabilization of our political life at this time. So the fact that the very party that put Minister Baudys in this government decided to recall him represents, from a factual point of view, the only real possibility of carrying out changes of this type. Thanks to this, the ODS has said that it was not its initiative, and I think this is completely fair, just as it was not the initiative of the Civic Denocratic Alliance and the Christian Democratic Party.

I should like to stress that I believe this change will bring something good to this country. Nevertheless, I am somewhat anxious, in the long term, about simplified and one-sided attacks on various ministers because usually the attacks are aimed at one thing—lucky or unlucky, justified or unjustified—and an assessment of the true work of the minister remains, more or less, disregarded, and only the surface is scratched. This makes me anxious as prime minister, and I would be very unhappy if this were to become a standard of our political life.

[Konvalina] Despite this, there was a lively discussion last week on the proposal of the members of parliament's agricultural committee to recall another representative of the KDU-CSL, Minister of Agriculture Josef Lux. He was very active yesterday in seconding Baudys's recall. Does this mean that the pressure for his possible recall is waning?

[Klaus] I do not know. I cannot tell the connection between these two things because, truly, in my view there is no obvious connection, and, if my understanding is correct, the People's Party has been experiencing, for several weeks or months, a certain inner struggle over whether to recall Minister Baudys. The Thursday session of the agricultural committee, in my view, had no close connection with it. So there is no point in linking these two things.

[Konvalina] Deputy Prime Minister Josef Lux said that Antonin Baudys, after his so-called Bosnia activity, was

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a different person. He indicated that he behaved like he was not at the session of the government. Did you have a similar feeling?

[Klaus] I do not like assessing individual ministers according to how they address government sessions, whether they are the active leaders of the government or more or less passive members. I do not think this is relevant today, and I would hate [word indistinct]. It is clear that every failure of a politician limits him to a certain extent. This is clearly evident; we cannot deny this. Minister Baudys's Bosnian initiative represented his failure before all citizens of this country anyway. [end recording]

Havel 'Understanding' About Dismissal of Baudys

LD1909174094 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 19 Sep 94

[Excerpt] Josef Lux has met President Havel. President Vaclav Havel received with full understanding his report about a proposal to dismiss Antonin Baudys because he himself has been alarmed for some time now by weakening trust of our population in the Army of the Czech Republic. [passage omitted]

Deputy Minister Reports on Visit to Former FRY

AU2009131494 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 9 Sep 94 pp 1, 12

[Interview with First Deputy Foreign Minister Alexandr Vondra by Josef Pelc in Prague; date not given: "Belgrade's Acceptance of the Peace Plan Seems Sincere"]

[Text] *Last week, the Czech deputy foreign minister made a five-day visit to the states of the former Yugoslavia—Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, and The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The purpose of the trip, the first on such a level since the disintegration of Yugoslavia, was to build on the traditionally good relations and acquaint oneself with the actual situation in the region and the possibilities for its solution. In this context, we asked Alexandr Vondra for an interview.*

[Pelc] You returned from a visit to the states of former Yugoslavia just last week. Why did you go precisely at this time?

[Vondra] The date of the trip was chosen with respect to the development in the region, although the initial thoughts of it go back to a much earlier date. t is just in recent days that the dynamics of activity in these countries has sharply increased. What I have in mind is the presentation of the peace plan by the Contact Group, the reaction by Belgrade and the stand of Bosnian Serbs from Pale. So, I believe we timed the trip well.

[Pelc] You said after the talks in Zagreb and Belgrade that no sharp and sudden changes are to be expected in the immediate future but that you feel that a turnabout in the entire conflict is imminent. What do you mean by a turnabout?

[Vondra] This conflict has been a chronic and hard-to-solve affair for a long time. I believe it will take a long time before a genuine reconciliation takes place between the hostile parties and republics. Therefore, I do not expect a sudden turnabout. On the other hand, there is the new stand assumed by Belgrade. It seems to me that the acceptance of the peace plan that we heard from there is not insincere. One can see the fatigue from the long-lasting conflict in the people in the country, and it also seems that the Serbs have nothing more to gain from the conflict. The reaction of other parties and the peace plan have also played their role. With the single exception of the Bosnian Serbs, all interested parties expressed their assent. The main thing is that one is no longer discussing whether to accept the plan, but, rather, a constitutional arrangement is being sought for the future Bosnia-Herzegovina that would provide the possibility of coexistence for all of its peoples.

[Pelc] A new exodus of refugees to Croatia has occurred, this time from the region of the Bihac enclave. Could the increased flow of refugees start another conflict?

[Vondra] I do not believe this situation will necessarily lead to the start of a new conflict. Although I did not have an opportunity to visit Bihac or the neighboring regions in Croatia, the journalists with whom I talked and who visited this area had the impression that the refugees' main motivation was to escape the war rather than go to war. The Bihac region, according to the Contact Group peace plan, belongs to Muslims, and it is precisely the Bosnian Government that assumed control over this territory a while back.

[Pelc] What will be the fate of the former Bihac ruler Fikret Abdic?

[Vondra] Reports from the people who had the opportunity to communicate with the refugees indicate that Abdic's influence remains very high. Therefore, the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] representatives and the EU observer mission members are negotiating with him; their objective is to organize the return of as many refugees as possible. As far as Abdic himself is concerned, it is unlikely that he would return in the near future.

[Pelc] During the trip, you also visited the Czech unit that operates within the framework of the UNPROFOR forces. What is its task, and how many Czech soldiers serve in it?

[Vondra] Our unit, which is deployed in sector South, approximately in the Plitvica lakes region, guards, together with the battalions of other countries, the inviolability of the so-called no-man's land that separates the two opposing sides—the Croats and the Serbs in the Krajina territory. This situation is the result of an agreement on truce signed in March. In addition to this "peacekeeping," our soldiers monitor the concentration of war material and also fulfill a humanitarian mission defined by the UN mandate. They are protecting a

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Croatian village, for instance, that is surrounded by Serbs. Approximately 120 mostly old people live here, who did not have the strength to run away at the time of the ethnic purges. Of course, these people need supplies and health care, and, under the siege, that is difficult. Our unit organizes precisely that. If water supplies are needed, they have to cross the war line. The unit also helps with treaties between the hostile parties that make the civilians' lives a little easier. The battalion deployed there has the strength of 920 men. The Czech soldiers also hold various command posts, the most important of which is the post of General Kotil, who commands the entire sector. Another of our officers commands the military police that make certain that UNPROFOR members do not commit any crimes. A Czech surgical team with a field hospital is also working in the region. I believe that the high number of command posts is a mark of appreciation for the good work of soldiers in UNPROFOR.

[Pelc] Following the visit to The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), you described this country as the "stabilization factor in the Balkans." On what, do you believe, this stability rests? Is the Kosovo issue behind it, the stand taken by Greece, or the fact that Macedonia remains unrecognized by its closest neighbors? President Gligorov also admitted the possibility of moving the combat from Bosnia-Herzegovina to Macedonia.

[Vondra] There have been concerns for some time now that the fighting could move into Macedonia via Sandzak on the Serbian territory. The war would thus move to the NATO border because Greece and Turkey are members of the alliance. That leads many countries to be inclined against the withdrawal of the arms embargo on Bosnia-Herzegovina and conceivable external armed intervention on this territory. Nobody in Europe wants the situation to become even more complicated, and all of the activities are aimed at stopping the conflict and stabilizing the situation. It is not for nothing that, within the framework of UNPROFOR, there are approximately 500 U.S. soldiers deployed there, monitoring the border with Serbia. The EU makes efforts to settle relations with Greece. For all of these reasons, it is really important that the conflict does not move onto the Macedonian territory, which could result in new Balkan wars. I consider it important that the government in Skopje and President Gligorov himself are aware of all of this and do everything in their power to prevent the conflict from spreading and to stabilize the situation.

[Pelc] Which states of former Yugoslavia will we cooperate with first, and in what areas?

[Vondra] There is active cooperation with Slovenia, which remains outside the conflict. A prospective partner for the near future is Croatia, with which trade has maintained a high level despite its being at war, and, after several years, this country has again become a sought-after target for Czech tourists. In the long run and after the fulfillment of UN resolutions, Serbia is also showing good prospects. It is in no one's interest that it be isolated from the West, or that it exist in some kind of zone with exclusive Russian or Eastern influence. This country is located at the crossroads of Balkan routes and is economically and in terms of transit very important. Therefore, I believe in cooperation with all of the countries of the region after the end of the conflict.

Director: Temelin Plant To Start as Planned

AU2009143794 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 15 Sep 94 p 2

[Article by "z[illegible]: "The Date of Insertion of Fuel in the First Unit of t[illegible]emelin Nuclear Power Plant Is Not in Doubt"]

[Text] Temelin—The date of insertion of fuel in the first unit of the Temelin nuclear power plant, set for 1 September 1996, is not in doubt. Jaroslav Riha, director of the CEZ [Czech Power Generating Works] organization department of the Temelin power plant (ETE), said this yesterday in response to questions regarding the feasibility of the target date. "This date has been in effect since last year. The postponement is a result of replacing the Russian automatic control system by a U.S. one, a completely unexpected situation," Riha says. According to him, the contractor does not even question the overall ETE construction budget, which totals 68.8 billion korunas [Kc].

By 30 June 1994, Kc38.385 billion of this amount had been spent. The construction stage of the first 1,000-MW unit has almost been completed, and approximately 60 percent of the technical stage has been assembled. The construction of the second 1,000-MW unit, which is expected to start up approximately 18 months after the first unit, is 80 percent complete, and more than 30 percent of the technical part has been assembled.

The combination of the Russian VVER 1000 [water-moderated water-cooled] reactors with the U.S. firm Westinghouse's control and regulation system was necessary, according to Riha, "so we would attain the high Western standard and the necessary quality standard. There are certainly technical problems, but they are solvable. Proof of that is the Finnish Loviisa nuclear power plant, where a similar approach was made."

A credit in the amount of $317 million approved by the U.S. Exim Bank and designated for the purchase of equipment for the ETE has not yet been drawn because the credit contract defining the conditions for drawing the funds and the term of repayment must be signed first. At any rate, director Riha believes that the necessary documents will be signed before the end of September. According to him, however, the delay in drawing on this credit has not caused any complications for the ETE construction because CEZ has sufficient funds available.

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Prime Minister on Privatization Program

LD2009130294 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Excerpts] The Slovak Government is holding its regular 28th meeting today. The meeting is chaired by Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik [passage omitted]

My colleague Milan Velecky reports live from the government building:

[Velecky] [passage omitted] Prime Minister, let us talk about the problems surrounding privatization. We know that the government's previous meetings left the projects for the privatization of some disputed companies, which were submitted by the minister for the administration and privatization of national property, still unresolved. How does the government feel about it? Will these projects be discussed before the election, or will you leave it to the next government?

[Moravcik] We have decided not to discuss the decisions on, or rather proposals for, privatization projects before the election.

[Velecky] Can you reveal what the proportion of votes was when this decision was made?

[Moravcik] We did not take a vote on this issue. It is a general agreement accepted by all sides.

Parliament Speaker on Minorities Summit

LD2009180194 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Text] According to the Slovak daily UJ SZO, Romania, little Yugoslavia, and Slovakia are jointly planning to solve the minority problem. Ildiko Nagy reports from Bratislava:

[Nagy] Although he has not received a written invitation yet, the chairman of the Slovak parliament, Ivan Gasparovic, would be happy to take part in talks with his Yugoslav and Romanian counterparts on the minority issue, Ivan Gasparovic told today's issue of UJ SZO.

As is widely known, Adrian Nastase, chairman of the Romanian parliament, has already proposed to his Yugoslav counterpart that a trilateral presidential meeting should be organized.

The chairman of the Slovak parliament does not exclude the possibility of Hungary's participation in these talks, either. However, he is of the view that Romania, Slovakia, and little Yugoslavia should have the opportunity to think jointly about a minority model to be implemented by the three countries.

However, all Central European countries that have to deal with minority matters should be involved in this, the chairman of the Slovak parliament said.

In answer to a question of whether, in respect of Slovakia, he would consider acceptable a measure about which the Romanian defense state secretary was speaking—that is, to put the Army on defense alert in case of violent actions by the minorities—Ivan Gasparovic said: Until there is peace and quiet and national minorities are pleased with their situation, there is no need for the measures mentioned above. However, this is a matter for the Hungarian political parties because the Slovak political forces behave in a way peculiar to ethnic Hungarian politicians.

If a Hungarian politician comes up with something that is incompatible with the Slovak Constitution, Slovak politicians will have to react to this appropriately and call a halt to it, Ivan Gasparovic, the chairman of the Slovak parliament, told UJ SZO.

'New Slovakia' Movement Holds First Congress

AU2109084394 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Sep 94 p 2

[Article by "mb": "Discrimination of Smaller Parties"]

[Text] Banska Bystrica—Almost 130 delegates attended yesterday's first regular all-Slovak congress of the New Slovakia [Nove Slovensko] movement in Banska Bystrica. They familiarized themselves with the movement's philosophy and aims, with the course of the election campaign thus far, and with the movement's programmatic theses. According to New Slovakia representatives, the movement has more than 1,000 members, most of them in eastern Slovakia and around Prievidza and Trnava. It also expects to build up a strong members base in Bratislava. The program of the movement, which many label as right-wing, also contains many elements that are to be found in the programs of left-wing parties. New Slovakia Chairman Rudolf Mosny criticized the course of the election campaign thus far, saying that Slovak Television's approach toward smaller parties was discriminatory and that television violated democratic principles and the election law. Slovak Radio was reportedly fairer in its approach, while the majority of the press was the best and the most objective in its conduct.

Prospects of HZDS-SDL Coalition Considered

AU2109101794 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 12 Sep 94 p 3

[Commentary by Julius Gembicky: "Motives and Limits of a Movement for a Democratic Slovakia-Party of the Democratic Left Postelectoral Coalition"]

[Text] Even 20 days before the early parliamentary election, no one dares reliably predict its outcome. Only the small parties, so as not to succumb to frustration even before the election, keep comforting themselves and the immediate surroundings of their miniparties with the hope of winning 10 or 15 percent of the vote. Although all kinds of things can happen in the election, no one, no matter how hard he tries, will be able to jeopardize the position of the two dominant political

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entities on our chessboard—the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and Common Choice.

It is precisely this preelection constellation, the dominant position of these two entities on our domestic political scene, that gives rise to frequent speculation about their postelection cooperation or even coalition. The basic factor determining the formation of this tandem will most probably be the difference in the percentage gain of electoral votes. If this difference turns out to be small—for example, if the HZDS wins 30 percent and Common Choice, let us say, 22 percent—the chances of this most frequently discussed postelectoral coalition will be reduced to a minimum. If, moreover, Democratic Union [DU] and the Democratic Party [DS] win seats in parliament, this will strengthen the coalition self-confidence of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] and Common Choice and will also open other options to it, particularly the continuation of the present coalition with Moravcik's DU, complemented, possibly, with Miklos's DS. The Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], with which the SDL has already managed to find common language, could be the third partner in this card game. A limiting factor in this case would be the election of a large number of candidates of the Permanent Conference of the Civic Institute, in view of their proverbial radical anticommunism. But even for Common Choice, such a coalition could have a real basis only if DU, the DS, and the KDH won enough votes for this coalition not to have to depend on the overt or quiet support of the Hungarian coalition, which, by sticking to the platform of the Komarno Appeal, could force the coalition to the wall.

On the other hand, the qualification into parliament of, and higher electoral gains for, the Slovak National Party [SNS] and the Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS] would open other coalition options for the HZDS, and such a constellation could drive Common Choice into opposition.

A stalemate, from which it will be very difficult to find a way out, will come about when only four parties and movements get into parliament—the HZDS with the Farmers Party of Slovakia, Common Choice, the KDH, and the Hungarian coalition—especially if none of them wins an absolute majority of seats in the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR].

This is the much-discussed moment, in which HZDS-SDL coalition talks would become the only realistic solution that could stabilize the Slovak political scene over the long term.

A motive to form this coalition lies in the programmatic proximity of those two entities and in the great affinity of their voters and members bases. Preelection polemics notwithstanding, one cannot fail to notice a certain respect of Sergej Kozlik, the main author of the HZDS economic program, for the views and actions of Brigita Schmognerova of the SDL. Preference for employee stock ownership in privatization is characteristic of both groupings. Although the possibility of this coalition will not be discussed much in public before the election, and one will wait for the election outcome, the possibilities of such a tandem being formed will also be limited by the manner in which the two partners treat one another in the election campaign. HZDS confrontational moves against the SDL in this sensitive phase could permanently damage their mutual relations and sweep any speculation about their cooperation off the table.

The key obstacle and limiting factor to this potential cooperation is the increasingly exacerbated relationship between the two leaders, Vladimir Meciar and Peter Weiss, which has its roots in the March 1994 dismissal of Vladimir Meciar and his cabinet with the help of SDL votes. The left-wing democrats will continue pursuing their policy of HZDS yes, but without Vladimir Meciar. Likewise, they will not budge on the issue of replacing the parliamentary system with a presidential or chancellor system. So far, the left-wing democrats have also been manifesting their loyalty to the president and, even though some HZDS leaders believe that the SDL's stand on this issue has changed and that only Peter Weiss or SDL Deputy Chairman Milan Ftacnik and, possibly, a handful of others insist on loyalty to the president, there is nothing within the SDL's ranks that would officially confirm that their original position has changed.

What is new in the argumentation of several SDL leaders, however, is that some of them have publicly declared that, in the event of such a postelectoral development, their main interest would be the long-term political stabilization of Slovakia, even at the price of sacrificing people who might stand in its way. It seems that the road is being paved in the SDL for an HZDS-SDL coalition not only without Vladimir Meciar but also without Peter Weiss. Although the possibility of such a scenario is not being conceded publicly in the two camps and the faithful are more and more vociferously rallying around the two leaders, in the event of a postelection stalemate, even taboos could be violated.

In this context, various speculation has surfaced, according to which HZDS functionaries, after using Vladimir Meciar before the election as an elevator to power, could sacrifice him after the election, out of the instinct of preserving their own feeding troughs and mangers at the level of the Republic or regions. For the time being, Meciar is only smiling when confronted with talk about Sergej Kozlik being a more acceptable prime minister, in the event an HZDS-SDL coalition becomes inevitable. He is also laughing at the second alternative, under which Ivan Gasparovic could become the figure who would represent an acceptable compromise in this game. Under this alternative, Gasparovic would vacate for his leader the post of parliament chairman, in the interest of a change in the constitutional system, which would then install Meciar in the presidency. The third speculation is that, if it became necessary to form a tripartite HZDS-SDL-KDH coalition without top political leaders or to form an interim caretaker government

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until a new early election is held, the HZDS has Julius Toth as prime minister up its sleeve. According to this speculation, the HZDS deliberately did not place Toth on its slate of candidates to be prepared for this alternative.

However, let us move away from speculation and backstage rumors to reality. It is quite probable that the SDL's readiness to form a coalition with the HZDS would either drive Volf's Social Democratic Party of Slovakia [SDSS] out of Common Choice or split the SDSS. Pokorny's Greens and the Farmers Movement, too, could react to such a development by bidding farewell to Common Choice. Should the HZDS win the election by a wide percentage against Common Choice, pressure from below, from the grassroots level, could force the SDL into a coalition with the HZDS at any price. Naturally, Vladimir Meciar and the HZDS reckon with the most acceptable price—the SDL should not demand Vladimir Meciar's head but, quite the contrary, should come to terms with its own Peter Weiss. This, however, would mean a split in the SDL and the SDSS and the opening of the social democratic space in our political spectrum for a struggle between legions loyal to Peter Weiss and Jaroslav Volf and SDL and SDSS supporters of a coalition at any price.

This, it seems, would be too high a price for the chimeric stabilization of the Slovak political scene.

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Spokesman Supports Haiti Action; Clinton Invited

LD2009110194 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Text] Relations between Haiti and Hungary and a meeting between the U.S. ambassador to Hungary and Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs were, among other things, on the agenda of the foreign affairs briefing held by foreign affairs spokesman Gabor Szentivanyi today. Istvan Kulcsar reports:

[Kulcsar] Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs received U.S. Ambassador Donald Blinken this morning and handed him a letter from Prime Minister Gyula Horn and President Arpad Goncz addressed to Bill Clinton. In their letter, the Hungarian statesmen invite the U.S. President to the CSCE summit to be held in Budapest in December, the spokesman announced.

He also said that Laszlo Kovacs, as the head of the Hungarian delegation, will participate in the UN General Assembly session in New York between 28 September and 4 October. He will contribute to the general debate and will meet the General Assembly's chairman and the UN general secretary.

Gabor Szentivanyi also announced that Istvan Torzsai has been appointed ministerial commissioner in charge of coordination related to the Gabcikovo dam matter. His predecessor, Gyoergy Tatar, will be a counsellor to the Hungarian ambassador to Vienna.

Answering a question in connection with the landing in Haiti, the foreign affairs spokesman expressed his agreement with the step, which has been undertaken in the spirit of the UN Security Council resolution. However, he expressed his hope that the peacekeepers would soon complete their task in that Caribbean country. He mentioned that Hungary does not have diplomatic relations with Haiti, our foreign trade with Haiti is insignificant, and, to his knowledge, there is no Hungarian citizen staying in Haiti at the moment.

'Minor Technical Fault' in Nuclear Plant Fixed

LD2009181794 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Text] A minor technical fault has prevented the restart of block two of the Paks nuclear power plant. Yesterday, during a regular check of block two—whose operation was stopped beforehand—it turned out that the condition of an enclosed part of the building around the reactor and one of the technological systems located there did not comply with regulations.

The fault was corrected, then the operation of block two, which supplies 10 percent of Hungary's energy production, was restarted. The block is expected to work at full capacity by tomorrow evening.

Based on the international scale of the severity of nuclear accidents, the fault was described as an irregularity [rendellenesseg], a first grade event, which is considered to be the less serious grade.

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Bujak Denies Reported CIA Aid to Solidarity

WS2009141294 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17-18 Sep 94 p 2

[Article by P.W.R. and J.B.L.: "CIA Money for Solidarity"]

[Text] "Peter Schweizer's claims that I was the recipient of money and equipment allocated by the CIA for Solidarity ['S'] underground activities in the country and that I had such things at my disposal, as written in the book *Victory*, are not true," Union of Labor [UP] Sejm Deputy Zbigniew Bujak, chairman of the Sejm Administration and Internal Affairs Committee, declared during a press conference called after NIE and TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC published articles referring to this book. Bujak argued that the author of the book is a sensationalist and that the book therefore cannot be recognized as a reliable source of information.

Zbigniew Bujak said that, in the letter, which he forwarded to the Sejm speaker on 15 September, he asked him for help in having the case investigated by U.S. Congressional commissions that oversee U.S. special services. He also added that he did not rule out the possibility that someone might have used his name to trick the CIA out of money and communications equipment.

He conceded that the underground "S" had received money from Western trade union federations and from the Endowment for Democracy. This fact, however, was never concealed. Still, the sums were not as large as Schweizer writes. "It was considerable aid, but it was insufficient. If they had offered us more, we would have accepted it," said the UP deputy. "Without this aid, the 'roundtable' talks and 'S' victory would have been impossible. These sums were accounted for before the 'S' congress." He also said that there were no super communication-and-bugging devices received from the CIA. The underground "S" had only homemade equipment or equipment bought in special shops in the West.

Two deputies of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], members of the Sejm Administration and Internal Affairs Committee, also asked their chairman some questions. Marian Marczewski asked whether Zbigniew Bujak, who, after GAZETA WYBORCZA published an article on corruption in the Poznan police, demanded that Police Chief Zenon Smolarek be suspended, would now himself resign from his job until this information is checked.

"If I were accused of cooperating with the CIA, I should suspend my duties and wait until the information is clarified," Bujak responded. "However, no such charge has been leveled against me as yet. I am at the command of the Sejm Presidium. If it decides that this is necessary, I will not hesitate for even a moment."

Deputy Marek Lewandowski asked when the issue may be clarified. Zbigniew Bujak replied that he was counting on Sejm Speaker Oleksy to respond quickly and help him.

The SLD deputies decided that they would not submit a motion that Bujak be suspended from his post as chairman of the Sejm committee.

There was always much speculation concerning the accountings for foreign aid to "S." The accountings were criticized by people representing various camps. Jerzy Giedroyc did it in KULTURA, published in Paris. In January 1994, Leszek Miller reported crime to the Prosecutor's Office (he claimed that the aid that the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union "Solidarity" and other organizations of the "S" camp received between 1989 and 1992 arrived in Poland in violation of currency controls).

The report that accounted for the foreign aid was submitted at the Second "S" Congress in 1990. In line with it, in 1982 the union received $109,000, in 1983 $348,000, in 1984 $495,000, in 1985 $554,000, in 1986 $589,000, in 1987 $668,000, in 1988 $1,532,000, and in 1989 $1,694,000. In the past two years, "S" received money from the U.S. Congress ($1 million each year).

(It is worth recalling that Peter Schweizer maintains in his book that, "in the peak time," the CIA transferred to "S" as much as $8 million a year, to say nothing of equipment).

"If the sums had been that large, we would have won much earlier," says Joanna Pilarska, deputy of Jerzy Milewski, head of the "S" Office in Brussels. (Janusz Palubicki, who for many years worked as a treasurer in "S," in statements made for the press also declares that foreign aid to the trade union ranged between several hundred thousand dollars to over a million a year).

"The money from the Congress was not intelligence money. It was granted officially and in the open. It was written that, under the budget law, the U.S. Congress unconditionally allocated $1 million to the NSZZ 'S.' To speak about $100 million and 'S' links to the CIA is complete nonsense," says Jacek Merkel. Also, Pilarska says that the aid money for "S" by no means came from the CIA.

Mastalerz To Be Police 'Candidate of Agreement'

WS2109114294 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21 Sep 94 p 2

[Article by BS and IRE: "Police Chief Mastalerz Is To Be a Candidate of 'Agreement'"]

[Text] ZYCIE WARSZAWY has found out that there exists a chance for a compromise between the prime minister, on the one hand, and the head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW] and his advisory committee, on the other, over the case of appointing a police chief. The candidate of "agreement" is to be Katowice Voivodship Police Chief Ryszard Mastalerz. He is supposed to be backed also by the president, who discussed the issue with Mastalerz on 20 September. Minister Andrzej Milczanowski would then give up supporting Krakow

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Voivodship Police Chief Boguslaw Strzelecki, and Prime Minister Pawlak would no longer insist on Leszek Lamparski, we learned unofficially.

"Before the session of the MSW political advisory committee, which is supposed to question the candidates for police chief, Prime Minister Pawlak should forward to Minister Milczanowski the motion requesting the nomination of Boguslaw Stzelecki," we were told yesterday by Democratic Left Alliance Deputy Zbigniew Siemiatkowski. In this interview, Siemiatkowski did not say that the MSW candidate was still the Krakow Voivodship police chief. This may mean that Milczanowski has given up forcing Strzelecki as his candidate.

However, the prime minister would also have to abandon his candidate—Leszek Lamparski. Since Monday, the former police chief has been undergoing medical tests at the MSW Central Clinical Hospital in Warsaw. The medical commission is to decide whether Lamparski, who has been a second-group invalid for two years, is able to serve in the police.

We asked Deputy Siemiatkowski whether he would support Lamparski's candidacy if the medical tests are positive: "It depends on how he performs at the hearing before the committee." Siemiatkowski added, however, that it does not seem very likely that the candidate has all of a sudden become healthy.

Politicians on Walesa's Election Chances

WS2009120094 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Sep 94 p 2

[Article by Kazimierz Groblewski: "If Lech Walesa Loses the Presidential Election, He Will Not Allow Himself To Be Forgotten"]

[Text] Lech Walesa, who keeps saying that he never loses. Lech Walesa, always with several tricks up his sleeve. Lech Walesa, who has predicted everything. This Lech Walesa will lose next year's presidential election. Is this difficult to imagine? No, it is not. What will he do if he really does not win? We asked this question of several people who used to know him or who know him now. All of the statements have one thing in common: the conviction that Walesa will not retreat from political life.

During the presidential campaign in 1990, Walesa's opponents stated that, as a president, he would be a threat to reforms. They tried to prove that he tended to behave in an authoritarian manner and to wield power with an iron fist.

A year later it turned out that people who supported Walesa in the election campaign also expressed similar opinions about him. Jaroslaw Kaczynski, after he and his party abandoned the president, stated that they had supported Walesa's candidacy because they thought that if he were out of authority he would be less dangerous to the reform process than if he were president.

Thus, both opponents and supporters of Lech Walesa evaluated him very similarly, but they drew different conclusions from this evaluation. His opponents decided that they must do their best to prevent Walesa from being elected president; his supporters thought that he must become president because, with his great authority, with the myth of the person who overthrew communism, as the head of "Solidarity" ["S"] or the leader of the disgruntled, he would be a greater threat to reforms. It is better to satisfy his ambitions right at the beginning and elect him president because he will become president sooner or later anyway; he will accomplish his goal by either democratic or nondemocratic means.

Walesa became president.

A year before the new election, one may again ask who Lech Walesa will be if he is not elected president. Will he threaten the process of reform after losing the election? Will he give up or start fighting for power again? Will he use only democratic methods, or will he act in line with the rule that the end justifies the means?

The answers to these questions will also say what Walesa has accomplished as president. That is, whether over the four years of his presidency he has managed to prove that his opponents in the 1990 campaign and (as it turned out) his supporters of that time were wrong. Has he proved to the people that he does not have to be a leader, that he respects the law, that he submits himself to it, that he respects the requirements of democracy and supports free-market transformations? That is, has he proved that Walesa is not so black?

Former collaborators of Lech Walesa (statements below) are convinced of one thing—that Walesa will not disappear from the political scene. Just like Pilsudski in Sulejowek, Walesa will be in Gdansk, says Jacek Merkel [of the Freedom Union—UW]. He will keep making statements because he will be deeply convinced that his opinions are taken into account.

He may become increasingly ridiculous in doing so, or, on the contrary, he may become an "opinionmaking institution."

Most certainly, Walesa will remain Walesa. He will be both serious and ridiculous. At one time he will give his support, at another overturn things. One thing is certain: He will not allow himself to be forgotten.

Bogdan Lis, in 1980 deputy chairman of the Interplant Strike Committee of the Gdansk Shipyard, today not involved in politics:

Certainly the first thing he will do is say that this is, in fact, his victory, that he never loses, and that he has planned on this. I think it will be a shock to him. After the first period of feeling his way in the dark, when he retreats from the political limelight, which will last about two or three months, he will try to gather a group of people who will attempt to question the new president

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and the political configuration. He will take advantage of what he can really do—that is, he will appeal to the crowd.

Jan Rulewski, former chairman of the Bydgoszcz "S," today a member of UW:

I am not convinced that Walesa will run in every case. If he decides that his chances are slim—that is, for example, if some definite favorite appears—he will certainly not run.

His behavior after the election will depend on who defeats him. If he is defeated by a candidate of the left wing, he is bound to set up a peasant, populist, and anticommunist party with an incoherent program. Now, if he is beaten by a candidate of his own orientation, I believe he will get involved in the activities of international organizations, which will ask him for it. He will definitely not be idle. This is proven by his age, his energy, and the desire to control the situation in the country. He will wait for the right situation. He will not get back to "S"; this is out of the question.

Jacek Merkel, chief of Walesa's election staff in 1990, today a member of UW:

The situation will be similar to the one we witnessed in 1982, when Lech Walesa was released from internment. He is a man who will not sit peacefully in one place for a long time.

What will he do? He will go back to 54 Polanki Street and make a statement every day. He will be, as he put it, "gaining positive pluses." He will launch political initiatives. He will become, in his own eyes, an above-party authority, an institution. No matter how others evaluate him. He will look upon this as Sulejowek. The possibility cannot be ruled out that he will return in five years' time. Poland is such a strange country that nothing can be ruled out.

Zbigniew Bujak, former chairman of Mazowsze [Warsaw Region] "S," today a member of the Union of Labor:

He will do more or less the same as other well-known people have done in history. He will go to Gdansk, to his home, and step by step he will gather people he trusts, to return to the political scene at an opportune moment. The question remains, however, what methods he will use to achieve that. Will he do it in an election or in some other way? This will also depend on the general situation. I exclude the possibility that, after a defeat, he will give up politics and retire from the political limelight.

Will Lech Walesa win or lose the election?

Lis: He will lose, first and foremost because he has done nothing to win. His entire presidency is a period that has not drawn many supporters to him. For some people, he is the one who betrayed ideals, did not implement promises, came up from the bottom. For others, he is not credible because in what he is doing he applies the principle that says there are no principles.

Rulewski: If he runs, he is bound to lose.

Merkel: I do not know, and I am not interested.

Bujak: I do not want to answer this question.

Strongest Rightist Coalition Showing 'Cracks'

WS2109113794 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Sep 94 p 2

[Article by M.D.Z.: "New Alliances on the Right"]

[Text] The Alliance for Poland [PdP], which is the strongest extraparliamentary rightist bloc, is beginning to show cracks. The dispute between Center Accord [PC] and Romuald Szeremietiew's Movement for the Republic [RdR] is escalating; the Christian-National Union [ZChN] also has a lot of doubts.

The disputes in the PdP are primarily over the partners of the future broad coalition. "Indeed, we differ in our views in terms of with whom we should form our coalition. The ZChN believes it would be best if the PdP's partners were Solidarity and the Accord of 11 November (Janusz Korwin-Mikke's Union for Real Politics, Aleksander Hall's Conservative Party, Pawel Laczkowski's Party of Christian Democrats—PChD, Artur Balazs's Peasant-Christian Party, and Jan Zamoyski's National-Democratic Party); our partners are leaning toward other alliances," says ZChN Vice President Stefan Niesiolowski. He gives assurances, however, that the PdP...

Is Very Stable

The situation within the ZChN will be finally clear after the party's congress, when, at the end of the year, Wieslaw Chrzanowski, in line with his announcement, vacates the post of party president. It is suspected that two people will fight for the vacated position: ZChN Vice President Ryszard Czarnecki and former Education Deputy Minister Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz.

"In the eyes of public opinion, the right wing is still divided. Even though the PdP is the strongest coalition on this side of the political scene, one cannot underestimate either the Secretariat of Center Right Groupings [SUC] (Jan Parys's Movement of the Third Republic, Tomasz Jackowski's Christian Democracy-Labor Party, Wojciech Ziembinski's Party of Faithfulness to the Republic, and Andrzej Anusz's Polish Union) or the Accord of 11 November," says Romuald Szeremietiew, who recently met with Secretariat representative Andrzej Anusz. The politicians spoke about the establishment of a wide "front of refusal" before the constitutional referendum. They believe that the results of their talks are...

Very Promising

It is worth recalling that, on behalf of the RdR, Szeremietiew a few weeks ago signed a "declaration of good intentions" with the PChD (a constituent of the Accord of 11 November), for which he received severe criticism

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from his PdP partners. Romuald Szeremietiew would now like to sign a similar document (a document that would not have any organizational consequences but that would improve the atmosphere, the RdR chairman assures) with one of the Secretariat groupings. However, he stresses that, before that, he is going to obtain the approval of the PdP coalition members. "One cannot shut one's eyes to the participation of SUC in the collection of a million signatures under the draft constitution, even though one may be very critical of this draft," says the RdR leader. "The formula of the PdP is becoming more and more exhausted, and, even though we cannot speak about disintegration yet, we do need...

New Political Facts"

The PC, which criticizes Romuald Szeremietiew's activity, is against such cooperation with other rightist blocs. The PC leaders believe that negotiations with coalitions that are much weaker than the PdP make them feel much more important than they really are. They expect that the various parties of those blocs should join the PdP.

Draft Law on Nonresident Aliens Summarized

94EP0089A Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish 16 Aug 94 p 22

[Article by AHO: "Amendments to the Law on Aliens; Uninvited Guests"]

[Text] The proposal for amendments to the law on aliens awaiting consideration in the Sejm aims to codify the regulations on deportation of aliens from Poland in a more rigorous manner. The current provisions of the law do not permit effective execution of decisions to deport an alien from the territory of the Republic of Poland.

This situation creates a serious threat to the security of the state and to public order, especially if one takes into consideration the number of undesirable foreigners residing in Poland and the increase in the number of illegal immigrants. Poland's international commitments to accept them, resulting in particular from the agreement on receiving individuals without permits signed by the government of the Republic of Poland and governments of other countries in the Schengen Group in Brussels on 29 March 1991 and from the agreement between the Polish and German Governments on cooperation in the area of effects caused by migration signed in Bonn on 7 May 1993.

The proposed changes in the current law from 29 March 1963 on foreigners are to permit effective execution of decisions to deport a foreigner from the Republic of Poland made in an administrative process. On the basis of the proposal, this effectiveness is to be guaranteed by applying means to avoid resistance to the execution of a decision.

The proposal includes the introduction of a suspension for 48 hours, designating a place of forced residence in a guarded center, and arrest for purposes of deportation.

In the cases mentioned in Article 15 of the current law, consideration of motions for detention is ineffective and practically inexecutable; thus, the proposal calls for changing this law. It calls for excluding court control of the detention of a foreigner. The proposal also introduces Article 15a. According to it, one must immediately ask for a deportation decision or take the foreigner to the border. Point 3 of Article 15a says that, if, in the course of 48 hours after the detention of the foreigner he is not presented with a copy of the decision designating a place of forced residence in a guarded center or the decision to arrest him for purposes of deportation, the detained individual must be immediately released.

The amendments to Article 16 retain the following preventive measures in regard to a foreigner: placement in a guarded center or arrest for the purpose of deportation.

The proposal that the preventive measures be applied not by a court but by a prosecutor with guarantees of court supervision of their use is a result of the fact that these measures are to serve exclusively to prevent resistance by the foreigner to deportation and can be used only when the foreigner does not submit willingly to the decision issued.

Because of the change in the manner of proceeding in cases of arrest for purposes of deportation and placement in a guarded center, the proposal calls for deleting Article 18 of the current law.

Article 17 contains sufficient guarantees of the rights of the foreigner associated with the overturning of the preventive measures applied to him. According to it, a foreign is not placed in a guarded center or arrested for the purpose of deportation if this can cause serious threat to his life or negative effects for his family. If his health requires it, he should be placed in the appropriate therapeutic clinic. According to this article, the prosecutor who issues the decision designating a place of forced residence in a guarded center for deportation is required to inform the appropriate diplomatic representative or consular office or a representative of the family court (if there is need to care for his children) and to take the steps required to protect his property.

It was also judged necessary to introduce in the proposed amendments changes in Article 26, Paragraph 3, due, in particular, to the increase to 1.25 million zlotys of the fine that can be imposed in proceedings by a misdemeanor board.

The Legislative Commission of the Sejm has also presented a set of proposed changes to this law. According to the provisions of the revisions, the only measure for executing a deportation decision in cases of justified suspicion that the foreigner will resist its execution would remain holding him for 48 hours applied by the police and the border guard and subject to appropriate court supervision in every case.

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PSL Attempts at Centralization Criticized

94EP0089B Warsaw GAZETA BANKOWA in Polish No 34, 20 Aug 94 p 7

[Article by Maria Dunin-Wasowicz: "Centering"]

[Text] *The PSL [Polish Peasant Party] wants to reestablish the system of local bodies of the state administration in order to govern the public monies.*

Who thought up the foolishness that the civic state must be built from its foundations? Because someone did, Minister Michal Strak intends to prove to the maniacs accusing him of ill will and dislike for the local self-governments that he can make a gesture: He will transfer some government authority downward, to the local level. The gmina-level dignitaries (35 percent from the PSL) will be able, for example, to evaluate the methods of government administrative work (at least half from the PSL), which, one is to understand, will distribute money to those places from which praise comes. It is not impossible that the atmosphere around the reorganization of the central bodies, the highest level of power in the state, announced by the head of the Office of the Council of Ministers will also improve—in proportion to the secondary redistribution.

Obviously, one can assume that the PSL will not pay anyone for anything. Ideological loyalty supposedly has clean hands. It is hard, however, to believe in something that history—not ancient—has compromised. The announcements of the president of the Office of the Council of Ministers concerning the broadening of the responsibility of the local self-government councils as a result of recent proposals by Prime Minister Pawlak also do not arouse trust. On the contrary.

A Gierek Disassembly

History takes another bow. In 1975, a famous reform of the state administration was carried out; 17 large and powerful voivodships were broken up and the administrative map of Poland has consisted since then of 49 small, manageable voivodships. According to the dialectics of the time, the division was to ensure "significantly greater decentralization and the ability to stimulate social activity in support of one's region...."

It would seem that today everyone knows and understands the goal of that "reorganization": It was precisely the reverse of the arguments. It was to increase party and financial supervision of the smaller "operational" units. Meanwhile, Professor Andrzej Stasiak, the current government expert, recalls the reform with fondness, which finally cleared out the remnants of "social activity in support of one's region" (RZECZPOSPOLITA, 8 July 1994).

The expert's prediction was not half-bad. Another thing is disturbing: The head of the Office of the Council of Ministers is striving in the same direction. For a long time secretive about the local-self government reforms, today publicly he says that decentralization of the state is self-evident. Bah, he is planning to carry it out according to the plans of Strak-Gierek: He wants to use the currently existing gminas and voivodships.

Almost Plagiarism

The proposals to increase "self-government" appeared without the knowledge and against the desires of the coalition member SLD [Democratic Left Alliance], and, what is less important, in a certain sense, of the Union for Freedom, which are jointly supporting the law on powiat self-government. Both parties in opposition to the government say that, without the powiats, it is impossible to essentially reform the Polish budget system. The gmina reform of 1990 was its initial action.

The experience of the gminas for the three years (1991-93) have shown how badly the changes in state organizational structure is needed. The gminas have invested, made up for lost time, have not gone into debt. In fact, they have paid debts that they inherited from the local bodies of the state administration (Gazeta Bankowa, No. 10, 1994, "Ranking the Gminas"). They have shown, in spite of the barriers, how great the reserves are in the state financial system, but the state wants in part to deprive them of their redistribution functions.

Time has come, it would seem, to expand the experiment with the gminas, to raise the step higher to the powiats. The powiat self-government was to be the first step, as the plans prepared by the Suchocka government assumed, toward the formation of large, strong voivodships and to final decomposition of the omnipotent center. For the appropriate definition of its functions, decentralization of power from the gmina to the ministry is essential. The crowning goal of these reforms would be decentralization of the public finances, thus bringing under control the expenditures of the budget and rational management of the public monies.

The initiative of Prime Minister Pawlak to add authority to the local councils and the reform of the center prepared "over a glass of cognac" as Minister Strak bragged have the opposite intention: to concentrate in "Warsaw" as much power and money. According to some, today about 85 percent of the public monies are in the hands of the center. It is quite probable that these already unfavorable proportions will soon get worse.

A Move to the Local Areas

Reforms contributing to decentralization of the public finances have been basically turned inside out. First, as part of the depoliticization of the state administration, Minister Strak reestablished the *nomenklatura* model of management in his superministry. The PSL also rules in the other state offices.

Now that the head of the Office of the Council of Ministers has a none-too-mean governmental base, he can plan a move into power in the local areas. The results of the elections to the local self-government councils

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have facilitated the implementation of these intentions, where it turns out the PSL has much more to say. It is not impossible that the chairman of the National Assembly for Regional Self-Government will be a member of the PSL.

The strategy of sucking power from the local areas calls for at least two basic moves. Under the guise of maintaining respect for its independence, the local areas will have their mouths closed, the voivod "is to present the self-government council with information in the performance of his tasks." That is everything. Discussions of, doubts of the council about, etc., the information from the voivod are not included. The fate and place of the National Assembly for Regional Self-Government is also unknown. It is an informal body, and its activities in the past term in office were exclusively a measure of the involvement of individuals understanding the need to rebuild the role of local self-government.

Under the pretext of treating the local self-governments as an important partner without whom the state cannot effectively introduce any sensible, long-term plan of reform, the prime minister has sent a questionnaire to the gminas. He wants to learn what the attitude of the local councils(?), mayors(?), presidents(?) is toward the powiat reforms and the expansion of their authority. A king's ransom to whomever believes the gminas will go for the lure of independence in a situation where the government substitutes subsidies for the subventions paid the gminas, takes over management of the schools, roads, and so forth. A ransom should be given for belief in the reliability of the results of the survey, which makes the gminas not a partner but an instrument of power.

An Expensive Manipulation

When Pawlak became prime minister, he predicted that he would reconsider and "recalculate" the local-government reforms. Unfortunately, from the calculations (which ones?), it turns out that they are very expensive. Now, after the local self-government election (as we foresaw in the fall, GAZETA BANKOWA, No. 45, 1993), the government has enthusiastically taken up reforms that not only centralize power but also reportedly are free. At any rate, the head of the Office of the Council of Ministers has not mumbled so much as one word about the costs, and the costs of carrying out the individual surveys of the gminas must not be insignificant. If only for the stamps. The costs of the "centering" of Minister Strak is the defeat of the "Strategy for Poland," as Zyta Gilowska has accurately shown (RZECZPOSPOLITA, 9 August 1994). This is a defeat for Poland that is being forced into another lesson from the history of centralism.

Local Reform Imperiled by Underfunding

MM2009101394 Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 8 Sep 94 p 3

[Article by Katarzyna Janowska: "Will the Pilots Take Off? Government Unmoved Despite Parishes' Successes"]

[Text] From the moment Waldemar Pawlak's team rose to power, local self-government activists have not ceased confronting the government over the issue of extending the statutory range of powers accorded to parish self-government structures. By the end of September, all Polish cities must let the prime minister know whether they intend to carry out the tasks specified in the "Pilot Program" [of decentralization at parish level] during 1995. Consequently, in the next few days, we can expect to witness another round of the duel over the issue of decentralization of the state.

It Was Meant To Be Different

Hanna Suchocka's government decided in its time that, as of January 1994, the 46 largest Polish cities would take over from the government administration the responsibility for their local secondary schools, health centers, museums, libraries, philharmonic halls, and theaters, as well as voivodship and state highways and the supervision of construction projects. The takeover program was devised as a test for parishes before the proposed district reform, the launching of which was envisaged in January 1995. The Suchocka cabinet allocated more than 14.2 trillion zlotys [Z] to finance the new tasks in the selected cities.

The Pawlak government inherited the legacy of the reform from its predecessor without enthusiasm. The granting of extended powers to parishes would mean that they would gain greater autonomy and become more independent of the central authorities. In the opinion of the advocates of the reform, that was not to the liking of the new government team, which had practically no representatives at all in local self-government structures operating in major cities. The prime minister first halted the introduction of the pilot program and then curtailed it quite drastically. He earmarked no more than Z8.3 trillion for the new tasks assigned to parishes, even though economic calculations indicated that parishes are much better at managing their funds than the government administration. As a result, Sosnowiec, Chorzow, and Grudziadz withdrew their participation in the curtailed pilot program. In addition, Kielce and Rzeszow decided to withdraw from the majority of the tasks specified in the program. Those cities that made the decision to plod on with the program complain that the government gives them too little money. Self-government activists claim that the government has calculated the allocations to their cities at levels that are too low, basing the allocation amounts on understated data on employment and wage levels at the schools, hospitals, and other establishments that are to be taken over by local self-government. Nor has it taken into consideration the costs of essential repairs and new equipment for the buildings coming under local administration. Cities are also complaining that they receive the money with considerable delays and, consequently, are often forced to finance the outlays from their own coffers.

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Despite these constant difficulties, it has become evident that the establishments that have been taken over by parish authorities are faring much better than those that have remained under government administration. Schools receive regular allocations of money for wages and repairs. Contrary to expectations, not a single cultural outlet has been closed down in self-governed cities.

Reformers' Fears

Nevertheless, the government remains unmoved by the successes recorded by the parishes.

According to calculations made by the Krakow City Office, the realization of the pilot scheme tasks will require Z186 billion more than the voivoda is offering them. The city will be more than Z36 billion short in the public housing and buildings maintenance department, Z73 billion short in the education department, more than Z62 billion short in the health department, Z10 billion short in the culture sector, and Z4 billion short in the administration department.

"Withdrawal from the pilot program would be tantamount to taking a step backward, but, if I had a say here, I would still not dare make a decision to continue the program in the present economic situation," Jozef Lassota, mayor of Krakow, told journalists. In November of last year, he was persuading the Krakow City Council to join the program. In his opinion, the pilot program and the district reform that was scheduled to follow it were indispensable elements of the state reconstruction scheme. Lassota, who heads the Polish Cities Convention, was the guiding and inspiring force behind the attempts by Polish self-government activists throughout Poland to win additional powers for parish self-government structures.

Today he does not attempt to deny that, given such low financial assistance from the government, the chances that parishes will be able to bear the burden of the pilot program are slight indeed.

"The voivoda cannot give the city more money for the pilot program because he has no funds," the Krakow voivoda's press spokesman, Maciej Bobr, told us. The voivoda receives the money for the pilot program from the state budget, and the sums he can allocate to the cities within his voivodship must be proportional to the funds he receives himself. Next year, the budget allocation for the pilot program will be up by only 12 percent on this year's sum.

Capitulation Is Unthinkable

"The pilot scheme is of fundamental importance. It would be unthinkable to withdraw from it," Wojciech Modelski, deputy chairman of the Krakow chapter of the Union of Freedom [UW] political party, insists.

In Krakow, the home of Jan Rokita, former head of the Council of Ministers Office, who regarded the state reform as his most cherished and favored project, capitulation is unthinkable. The belief throughout UW is that surrender would be tantamount to a signal announcing a collapse of the program on a nationwide scale. "By withdrawing from the pilot program, cities would gain nothing at all; they would only supply ammunition for the adversaries of the reform," Modelski explains. A possible chance to save the program could come though parliamentary lobbying. In support of this cause, UW is ready to join forces with anyone who thinks along similar lines, not excluding the Democratic Left Alliance or the Nonparty Bloc in Support of Reforms.

"We will insist that the Sejm prepare a timetable for its work on the district act and the act on financing principles for parishes," Modelski continues. He believes that that could be the way to rescue the idea of state decentralization. A dedicated parliamentary lobby would fight to secure higher shares for parishes in the income tax revenues, to a level enabling them to realize the tasks envisaged in the pilot program.

In a statement submitted to the City Council yesterday, the City Executive Board declared that it is determined to continue carrying out the pilot program tasks provided the formula whereby they are commissioned is altered. Self-government bodies want to discontinue the practice of the annual contract renewal. They prefer not to be surprised each time by the amounts they are allocated from the state budget. They demand to be given the power to decide in the areas affected by the pilot program and to have a systematic basis for financing the scheme, so that they can plan their budget accordingly. Lassota intends to propose that the mayors of the cities pursuing the pilot program set up a lobby of parliament members to promote the interests of local self-government structures. On Saturday, the "pilots" are scheduled to meet in Krakow at the Polish Cities Convention.

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Armenia's Ter-Petrosyan Addresses Parliament

AU2009171894 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0713 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Speech by Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan to a joint session of the Romanian Parliament in Bucharest on 20 September—live; Ter-Petrosyan speaks in Armenian with passage-by-passage translation into Romanian]

[Excerpts] Esteemed President of the Senate Mr. Gherman, Esteemed President of the Chamber of Deputies Mr. Nastase, Esteemed Deputies, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I have to apologize for starting this speech before Romania's Parliament by violating Romania's law and delivering this speech in a language that is not Romania's official language. [applause]

It is both very difficult and at the same time very easy for me to appear before you. It is easy because both our states face the same problems, are involved in solving the same problems, and there is no need to explain those problems to one other. But it is also difficult because it is not possible to surprise you with anything. I cannot surprise you with those affirmations and problems that surprise the Western world. If I say that in Armenia, with a population that numbers three and a half million people, there are 42 parties registered, you will not be surprised. [passage omitted on period of transformations in Armenia]

Today, Armenia bears the burden of the past as well as of very serious problems that still have not been solved, such as: the reconstruction after the 1988 earthquake, the problem of the 300,000 Armenian refugees from Azerbaijan, and the circumstances of the Nagorno-Karabakh war. The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is also the reason for the economic blockade imposed on Armenia.

Each of these problems in itself can be a very heavy burden even for a country that is much better developed than Armenia. However, even in these difficult conditions we succeeded in making very important progress toward achieving our goals, which are to establish a rule-of-law state, a market economy, a civic society, and a foreign policy that promotes peace, and first of all normal relations with all our neighbors. We are carrying out very intensive work and activity in this direction. [passage omitted]

In 1993 we succeeded in halting the economic regress. Armenia is the only country among the former Soviet republics where this has been achieved. In all the other former republics the economy continues to recede. We succeeded in halting inflation and cut the budget deficit thanks to the domestic potential of our republic. Armenia is member of the IMF and of all the other world financial institutions. The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict has been an obstacle in our progress and this is the reason why in conditions of lack of stability, international financial institutions have no guarantee to invest in Armenia. However, I am optimistic because there are very important and real premises for the installation of peace in Nagorno-Karabakh. A ceasefire was proclaimed four and a half months ago and it has been observed ever since by both sides. During the six years since the outbreak of the conflict, it has been the longest ceasefire. This permits the two sides to make preparations for concluding a peace treaty and the two sides are ready to sit at the negotiating table and solve this very complex and complicated problem on the basis of compromise. I am convinced that all misunderstandings of today among the international mediators such as Russia, CSCE, and the United Nations, will disappear soon and international public opinion and all international fora will present a program for the establishment of peace in this region. The installation of peace in Karabakh and economic stability in Armenia make us optimistic and we hope that they will offer arguments to international fora so that the negotiations that have started in January will be successful and Armenia will obtain important assistance from the IMF.

Here in your Parliament I cannot avoid talking about our parliament. Armenia's parliament has been functioning for four years. In May next year it will end its activity. There are still about eight months left, a period that will be very intensive for our parliament because it will be the pre-electoral period. Every action will be determined by the electoral struggle that is about to begin. However, I believe that if in these eight months, the parliament solves three problems it will be able to assume half of the honor for being the builder of the new Armenian state. The parliament will have to adopt the constitution that will be submitted to a popular referendum. Of our constitution I can tell you that the French state is our statal model. The other problem is to endorse the new electoral law. I know you have solved these problems of the constitution and of the electoral law, but in our case we have problems connected with the electoral law because we have debates on the majority and proportional representation. I believe that a part of the deputies will be elected according to the majority criteria and another part by the principle of proportionality. The third problem is the budget for 1995. After these three problems are solved, I believe that the parliament can hand over its affairs to the new parliament.

On this occasion, I would like to express heartfelt thanks to the Romanian people for the friendship and hospitality shown to the Armenian people through the centuries because as early as the Middle Ages representatives of the Armenian people, persecuted by Tartars and Turks, found shelter on your soil and have been given the opportunity to preserve their language, develop their culture, and preserve their churches. They have also made a contribution to the development of the Romanian culture and today this small Armenian community in Romania is given the possibility to preserve its

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national identity. Through its representatives, the Armenian community is making a contribution to the prosperity and development of the Romanian society without losing its spiritual ties with the fatherland. I am glad that this Armenian Community, along with other ethnic groups in Romania has its representative in Romania's Parliament. I also feel duty bound to express my gratitude for the fact that Romania was one of the first to recognize Armenia's independence. [passage omitted]

Iliescu, Ter-Petrosyan Brief Press; Visit Ends

AU2009190994 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Text] Today at the Cotroceni Palace in Bucharest, after the signing of the Romanian-Armenian Friendship and Cooperation Treaty, Romanian President Ion Iliescu and his Armenian counterpart, Levon Ter-Petrosyan held a joint news conference.

In his introductory statement, President Ion Iliescu pointed out that the treaty represents the juridical basis for the furthering, in the future, of Romanian-Armenian relations. He also stated that during their talks they found that the two countries are facing quite similar problems. Mr. Iliescu said that the economic blockade currently imposed on Armenia prevents, for the time being, the development of normal relations between the two countries, after which he expressed his confidence that such hardships will be surmounted in the future and emphasized the mutual interest in the establishment of a climate of peace in that region.

For his part, Mr. Levon Ter-Petrosyan expressed his satisfaction about the way in which his visit took place, as well as its results. He assessed that there are real possibilities to further bilateral relations, especially after the current obstacles, which [words indistinct] are being overcome, adding that over the past four months a truce has been observed in Nagorno Karabakh and that he thinks it possible that soon [words indistinct] will be concluded. Mr. Ter-Petrosyan assessed that the treaty represents a solid basis for the furthering of relations between the two countries.

Afterwards, the two presidents answered journalists' questions.

Regarding the settlement of the conflict in the Karabakh region, President Ion Iliescu assessed that Romania's possibilities are modest, but that our country might exert an indirect political influence in that area through our diplomatic relations with all the countries of the Caucasus—Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia—as well as with neighboring countries Iran and Turkey. President Ter-Petrosyan added that Romania, as a member of the CSCE and the UN, might adopt a constructive stand and contribution to the establishment of peace in Nagorno Karabakh.

Asked about Romania's position regarding the Republic of Moldova, President Iliescu asserted that it is not [words indistinct], but rather actively saluted the acts of self-assertion of that state formation.

Talking about the Armenian ethnic minority living in Romania, President Ter-Petrosyan expressed his confidence in the fact that in a democratic country, where people have the right to self-determination, the Armenian community will be granted all liberties to regain its vigor and to develop to the benefit of the country that has adopted that, Romania, but also to the benefit of the entire Armenian nation.

Following the news conference an official farewell ceremony was held at Cotroceni Palace, after which the Armenian presidential delegation headed for Otopeni International Airport.

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Rose Blames Muslims for Clashes, Threatens Force

LD2009170994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 20 Sep (TANJUG)—General Michael Rose, UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] commander for former Bosnia-Herzegovina, today confirmed Serb republic president Radovan Karadzic and chief of staff Colonel General Manojlo Milovanovic, that the Muslims were solely to blame for the latest clashes in the Sarajevo area, the SRNA news agency reports.

"According to mortar-locating radars, the attack was launched from the city, from Muslim territory. The positions from which fire was opened were accurately identified. This inevitably caused the Serb side's reaction," General Rose told reporters.

He refuted the Muslim leadership's accusation of being biased in the course of establishing responsibility for the latest clashes in the Sarajevo area.

General Rose noted that in the event of further similar incidents in Sarajevo and other safe zones, "he will have to use force."

I am responsible—SRNA quotes General Rose's words—for the implementation of UN Security Council decisions on establishing and maintaining safe zones, and if incidents take place again in these areas I will have to use force although it will be a sad development if we reach this stage.

General Milovanovic said that the latest Muslim offensive in Sarajevo was launched from an area controlled by UNPROFOR.

"In this connection we expressed our grave dissatisfaction to UNPROFOR today. The Muslims launched an offensive on Sarajevo from the area of Mt Bjelasnica, Mt Igman and Gorazde; this is not an incident, as General Rose said, but is an offensive of wide proportions," the Serb republic army chief of staff said.

General Rose promised that he will check the Muslim offensive and if UNPROFOR fails to stop the Muslims in a peaceful way, "we will stop them in our own way," Rose said.

The talks between top UNPROFOR and Serb republic representatives today also focused on the reconstruction of the infrastructure in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

General Milovanovic said that this time they did not discuss partial solutions for Sarajevo, Tuzla, and other cities, but the reconstruction of the overall infrastructure.

"If the Muslims in Sarajevo need electricity and water, then we want to get the power transmission line via Vranovaca near Foca repaired, and we want to see the reconstruction of the water supply system near Srbobran (formerly Donji Vakuf), and so forth," General Milovanovic explained.

Rose 'Obliged' by UN To Threaten Army

AU2009203194 Paris AFP in English 1935 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Sept 20 (AFP)—Bosnian Army Chief Rasim Delic on Tuesday [20 September] ruled out the prospect of a siege-busting offensive around Sarajevo as the UN Bosnia commander reaffirmed his commitment to punish such an attack with force.

General Delic said the Moslem-dominated Bosnian Army was in no position to break the Bosnian Serb stranglehold on the city.

"At this point in time this is not realistic," he said.

"You can see that any action taken by the Bosnian Army in the safe areas is immediately attacked as illegitimate by the UN Protection Force."

Delic was referring to a threat Sunday by the UN Bosnia commander, Lt.-Gen. Sir Michael Rose, to use force to halt fighting inside the 20-kilometre (12.5-mile) heavy weapons exclusion zone in force around the capital.

The threat, including the use of NATO airpower, was made following a Bosnian Army attack on a Serb-held hill north of the capital.

For his part Rose said he was obliged by UN resolutions to threaten force to maintain the relative peace in the Bosnian capital.

Rose's threat was roundly attacked by the Bosnian Government and raised eyebrows here among diplomats who said the British general was unlikely to find a NATO country willing to carry out airstrikes against Bosnian forces.

However Rose, speaking after meeting Bosnian Serb leaders in their Pale stronghold southeast of here, said he took violations of the exclusion zone "extremely seriously."

"If necessary I'm obliged to use force" to enforce the zone and the February 9 ceasefire agreement signed by both sides at Sarajevo airport, he said.

But he added: "I think that it would be very regrettable if we go to that situation because I would like to resolve problems through peaceful means."

He was "glad to say we seem to have a stabilising situation without unravelling the peace process" and avoided plunging Sarajevo back into "the desperate situation it was in a year ago."

The weekend assault by the Bosnian Army has been interpreted here as a ploy to force the Bosnian war to the top of the international agenda ahead of a mid-October

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US deadline for the Serbs to accept an international peace plan for the former Yugoslav republic.

U.S. President Bill Clinton has committed himself to seeking the lifting of the UN arms embargo if the Serbs ignore his deadline to accept the peace plan.

Opposition Condemns Rose Ultimatum to Muslims

AU2009165694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1300 GMT on 20 September carries in its regular 30-minute newscast the reactions by two opposition political parties to the threat by General Rose, UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina, that he would call up NATO air strikes against both the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and Bosnian Serb forces unless the fighting in the Sarajevo exclusion zone stopped.

The statement by the Liberal Bosniak Organization [LBO] says that "we protest most strongly to Gen. Rose, commander of the UNPROFOR for Bosnia-Herzegovina, over his unjustified accusations against the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, which responded to the Chetnik attacks only after lodging 12 protests with UNPROFOR. The LBO of Bosnia-Herzegovina wonders why the threats are coming now, at a time when Sarajevo is without even the basic conditions for life, without electricity, water, gas, and bread, and when shells are raining down on the center of Sarajevo, which is under Gen. Rose's protection. Should we, Gen. Rose, remain cool in face of this? Do try and understand us, do be unbiased when you make crucial decisions. We have been patient enough during almost three years of strangulation, and our army is the only hope of this nation. Therefore, we reject all accusations against it."

The Citizens' Democratic Party [GDS] of Bosnia-Herzegovina "appeals to all the relevant protagonists in the country and the world to stop the strangulation of Sarajevo." "Unconditional support" is extended to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, "which should finally sever the noose that is killing the capital of Bosnia- Herzegovina." The GDS is "embittered by the actions of Gen. Rose, commander of UNPROFOR for Bosnia-Herzegovina, who has placed the victim and the aggressor on an equal plane in this unscrupulous aggression on the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Siladjzic Criticizes Rose Ultimatum to B-H Army

AU2009134994 Paris AFP in English 1215 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Text] Brussels, Sept 20 (AFP)—Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Tuesday bitterly attacked a threat by the UN commander in Bosnia to order air strikes against Bosnian army forces seeking to weaken the Serb siege of Sarajevo.

General Michael Rose warned both separatist Serb and Bosnian government forces on Sunday that he would use NATO airstrikes unless they called a halt to the worst clashes around the Sarajevo region in seven months.

The Bosnian premier, in Brussels for talks with with Sergio Balanzino, NATO's interim general secretary, questioned the legitimacy of Rose's charge that Bosnian forces had "provoked" the Serbs by launching a mortar-backed infantry assault on a point north of the centre of the city.

"For a legal government force to provoke on its own territory is very strange. Maybe we provoked from the very beginning because we resisted the invasion and aggression," Siladjzic said.

"That might be the provocation because we are expected to lie down and die quietly.... We're not very good victims. That's why I believe Michael Rose said that. He is a soldier. He should do his job. It's not for him to comment politically."

Critics of Rose's ultimatum have pointed out that although he wasted no time in getting tough with the Bosnian government, he has generally avoided doing the same with the Bosnian Serbs.

Silajdzic discussed the deteriorating situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and a Bosnian application to join the Partnership for Peace, the scheme set up by the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation to establish defence links with the former communist states of eastern and central Europe.

Silajdzic expressed satisfaction with the response he received with Balanzino, who is standing in following the death last month of NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner.

"We know it is a difficult situation for them to deal with a country under invasion and aggression but we were glad to hear they will seriously consider it," he said.

NATO sources indicated however that rapid progress on Bosnia's application was unlikely as long as the war continues.

UN Denies Threatening NATO Airstrike on Serbs

AU2109130894 Paris AFP in English 1203 GMT 21 Sep 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Sept 21 (AFP)—The United Nations here dismissed reports Wednesday that it had threatened Bosnian Serbs with NATO airstrikes unless they withdrew arms violating the Sarajevo exclusion zone by a midnight deadline.

The denial came after reports that UN Bosnia commander General Sir Michael Rose had threatened the

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use of airpower during a meeting Tuesday with top Serb political and military leaders in the self-styled Serb capital of Pale.

The media reports quoting an off-the-record UN source said UN commanders had ordered the Serbs late Tuesday to remove all heavy guns from the 20-kilometre (12-mile) total exclusion zone (TEZ) around Sarajevo by Wednesday midnight or face the threat of a NATO attack.

UN Protection Force spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Tim Spicer said Wednesday UNPROFOR would closely monitor Serb undertakings to pull some six to 10 heavy weapons out of the exclusion zone before deciding what action to take.

On Monday UNPROFOR said Bosnian Serb army chief of staff General Manojlo Milovanovic issued written orders to his forces to pull back all heavy weapons outside the TEZ.

However a surge in fighting around the capital has thrown its implementation into doubt. On Sunday Rose threated NATO airstrikes against both the Bosnian Army and the separatist Serbs unless they called an immediate halt to the clashes.

Spicer said the Serbs were told at a September 12 meeting that heavy weapons inside the TEZ "must be removed quickly," adding that "the intention was to remove them within a week."

"The word ultimatum has been used fairly loosely recently, there was no specific time frame mentioned. A week was discussed and the assurances were it could be done within a week. But it was not tied to any specific deadline," Spicer said.

"In this case we have progress, these weapons, as far as we know, are being taken out. So what is the point of using airpower?" he added.

As long as the Serbs were complying with the Milovanovic order UNPROFOR would not use force, he said. "We are going to look at this, the way they are progressing in removing these weapons. Once we have done that and seen how far they have gone, we will make an assessment and see how best it would be to progress," he added.

However, Spicer said the threat of airstrikes had not been totally withdrawn, saying "always there is the possibility of the use of NATO airstrikes. The commander has made it quite clear that he will use them if he feels the circumstances require it," he said.

UN commanders in Bosnia have come under increasing criticism in recent weeks for failing to police the heavy weapon exclusion zones around Sarajevo and the eastern enclave of Gorazde more strictly in the face of growing evidence of Bosnian Serb violations.

Commentary Views Behavior of Rose, UNPROFOR

AU2009155294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Commentary by Amir Hodzic]

[Text] Even though we have become used to the inappropriate and neutralistic behavior of United Nations representatives in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the latest warning by General Rose, commander of the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] in Bosnia-Herzegovina, that he would use all available means against both sides unless the fighting stopped was the straw that broke the camel's back, and has caused fierce reactions among Sarajevo citizens, who are now deprived of even the most basic commodities of life. The Sarelians are without water, electricity, gas, and there is increasingly little food since the blue routes—which UNPROFOR was supposed to guarantee—have not functioned for over a month now. We recall that the criminal Karadzic even publicly announced that this would happen, but the UN representatives took no notice. They did nothing, just as they have done nothing over the last few days as the Serbian aggressor has been keeping the only road out of the city, the Mt. Igman road, under constant fire.

These days in front of the entire world public genocide has been perpetrated against the Bosniak and Croatian people of Janja, Bijeljina, Banja Luka, and surrounding areas. The unfortunate people have been expelled with just one bag each and the international community has again done nothing to protect the innocent civilian population, even though its representatives have said time and again that their role is only humanitarian. Could Banja Luka, like Sarajevo and Mostar, not have been placed under the administration of one of the international institutions? What else must happen before something is done? Yasushi Akashi promised a long time ago to visit Banja Luka, but nothing has come of that yet. But he is an enthusiastic visitor to Pale.

Just like Sarajevo, Bihac, Gorazde, Srebrenica, Zepa are also under the protection of the United Nations, but the Serbian aggressor continues to shell them, while the humanitarian aid convoys are having increasing difficulties in reaching these places. The international community again does not react. Anti-sniping agreements have been signed in Sarajevo and Gorazde, but the aggressor violates them daily. And the blue helmets tolerate this.

A sniper has been killing Sarajevo citizens from Spicasta Stijena, the most notorious Chetnik stronghold around Sarajevo, ever since the beginning of the war. So far this sniper has killed 43 people. UNPROFOR has been watching this in silence. In Poljine the Chetniks captured 22 French soldiers, seized heavy artillery, and pounded Sarajevo with it. Was that not reason enough to bomb the aggressor's positions? Let us list no more, but there are many, many examples of this. The neutrality of UNPROFOR continues to be evident.

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However, when—provoked by sniper activities—the Bosnia- Herzegovina Army responds with decisive action, then General Rose rushes forth with a warning to both sides to halt the clashes or else he will use all available means. When it comes to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, the UNPROFOR representatives have to realize once and for all that it is not the army that is sitting in the hills and shelling Sarajevo, Gorazde, Srebrenica, Zepa, Bihac, and other places, that it is not the army that is cutting off electricity, water, and gas, and it is not the army that is blocking humanitarian aid convoys and committing genocide. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army is waging an honorable war of liberation and protecting the people from the aggressor. It gets stronger and better organized every day, and nothing will stop it on its honorable course of liberation, least of all the inappropriate statements and behavior of UNPROFOR.

Karadzic Threatens Sanctions Against Muslims

LD2009192594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1850 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Sep (TANJUG)—Srpska republic president Radovan Karadzic sent a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali today.

"If the UN Security Council adopts a resolution against us it will mean that the United Nations has abandoned its impartial position and sided with our enemies," Karadzic said, specifying that "after that cooperation with UN bodies, including the UN Protection Force, will no longer be possible.

Karadzic, as SRNA news agency says, reiterated a warning that if a resolution on the tightening of sanctions is adopted, "the Srpska republic will impose all sorts of sanctions against Muslim Bosnia."

To demonstrate by way of guarantee that the Serbs of the Srpska republic are ready for peace, Radovan Karadzic suggested to Ghali "that an agreement on a total ceasefire should be signed, and UN forces should be positioned between the warring parties." He stressed that such an agreement "should not prejudice" a final peace solution.

Karadzic appealed to the UN secretary general "to persuade the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to be satisfied with political and military sanctions and to provide for economic cooperation with economic centers in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."

"I also ask you to exercise your influence on the UN Security Council so it does not side with our enemies and treat us on an equal basis with the other two warring parties," Karadzic writes in his letter to Butrus-Ghali. In his opinion, "a different approach would be a disgrace and would make peace more remote while the actions that are being planned cannot lead us to peace, but, regrettably to even more furious clashes in the region."

Muslims Threatened if UN Resolution Adopted

LD2009184694 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Text] Momcilo Krajisnik, speaker of the Srpska republic people's assembly, has said that if a resolution is passed in the United Nations against the Srpska republic, the leadership of the republic will abandon their policy of goodwill toward the Muslims which has hitherto been implemented with the aim of establishing peace and seeking just solutions to the crisis. If a resolution is introduced in the United Nations against the Srpska republic, we will introduce a blockade against the Muslims although we would prefer this not to happen, Krajisnik warned in a statement to Serb Radio Television's Sarajevo studio.

He noted that the proposed UN resolution would hermetically seal off the Serb people in the Srpska republic and that they are expected to sign the maps and surrender. We anticipate great pressures but we must defend ourselves and use all means available in our defense, Krajisnik categorically stated.

In reply to a question about how the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] would be viewed if the resolution is adopted in the United Nations, he replied that UNPROFOR would no longer be necessary in this region because it would in effect be an enemy force belonging to an enemy coalition. If the resolution is adopted we will no longer be well disposed either to the Muslims or the UN peace-keeping forces, Krajisnik said.

Serbian General Threatens 'Reprisals'

AU2009124194 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 18 Sep 94 p 7

[Unattributed report: "Reprisals for Brcko"]

[Text] Lieutenant Colonel General Nikola Milovanovic, chief of General Staff of the Army of the Serbian Republic (VRS), has threatened the Muslims and Croats with reprisals if they continue attacking civilian targets in Brcko.

"Regardless of whether it is the Muslims that are attacking us from the south, or the Croats that are attacking us from the north, we will strike back at both, but more at the Croats since they are supplying the Muslims with arms," General Milovanovic told SRNA.

The chief of the VRS General Staff also said that the "Serbian side will select the targets and the time to attack them." Before it does so, it will inform the Croat side about it via the media.

Milovanovic said that the purpose of the Croat artillery's attack on Brcko is to frightened the civilian population and force it to leave the town.

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UN Protests 'Flagrant Breach' of Sniping Accord

AU2009175894 Paris AFP in English 1732 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Sept 20 (AFP)—A Bosnian Serb sniper shot a 60-year-old man in central Sarajevo Tuesday [20 September], sparking an immediate protest by the UN Sarajevo sector commander, officials said here.

The man was shot near the Brotherhood and Unity Bridge at 4:35 p.m. (1435 GMT), said UN Protection Force spokewoman Claire Grimes. There were no UN antisniping units in the area, she said.

The shooting was "a flagrant breach of the antisniping agreement," said Grimes, adding that French General Andre Soubirou had protested the incident to Major-General Manojlo Milovanovic, chief of staff of the Bosnian Serb army.

An official at the State Hospital said the man was undergoing surgery for a leg wound, adding that his injury was not life-threatening.

The Sarajevo antisniping accord was signed on August 14, effective August 22, but the Serbs have refused to take part in a joint operations control centre provided for in the agreement.

The operations room is designed to coordinate action against snipers along both sides of the confrontation line which divides the city.

UN Reported Paying Duties to Serbs for Transit

AU2009143394 Hamburg WELT AM SONNTAG in German 18 Sep 94 p 6

[Report by Michael J. Inacker: "United Nations Paid Duties of $1 Million to Serbs"]

[Text] Hamburg—UN officers are criticizing the conditions of their employment in Bosnia.

A Danish Army officer has just given an account of his experiences as a staff officer to WELT AM SONNTAG. The United Nations often enters into deals with the Serbs and supports their warfare in this way, he said.

First example: When a few months ago, according to a UN mandate, a mixed Scandinavian tank and motorized infantry battalion was to be transported by train from Denmark via Hungary and Serbia to the area around the Bosnian city of Tuzla, Serbian "customs officials" in fantastic uniforms did not want to permit the train to continue from Belgrade. They demanded $1 million in duty from the battalion commander.

The commander contacted his military leadership in Denmark, which, for its part, asked for further instructions from UN headquarters in New York. The United Nations provided the money, but the people in New York asked for a receipt.

After the Scandinavian battalion had received the money in cash as demanded, the commander and the Danish staff officer met with the Serbian customs officials and pushed a briefcase with $1 million across the table. The Serbs signed the receipt.

Second example: So-called duties of $40,000 to $60,000 had to be paid for each of the following trains on which UN troops transferred heavy equipment to Bosnia.

Third example: A UN battalion employed in the area of Tuzla/Brcko had to supply the Serbian militias with fuel, in order to be able to operate at all. However, obscure deals are also transacted between the hostile civil war groups, the Danish officer reported. In one case, a local Muslim [Bosnia-Herzegovina Army] commander in the northwest of Bosnia asked the Serbs for help against the Croats. He asked the Serbian artillery to fire several volleys against Croatian positions one day later at approximately 1400. The Serbs demanded $10,000 for this. The murderous deal was transacted.

UN Seen Hindering Lifting of Sarajevo Siege

AU2009205094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Report by Senada Cumurovic, including interview with General Rasim Delic, supreme commander of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, in Sarajevo on 20 September—recorded]

[Text] [Words indistinct] held immediately prior to today's press conference, Army General Rasim Delic clarified the aims and essence of his recent visit to Turkey and the United States. However, more interest was shown at the press conference in issues connected to the latest events in the Sarajevo exclusion zone, and the current status of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO]. In this context, Gen. Delic commented on the HVO's recent withdrawal from positions near Konjic and said that the HVO had been informed about the planned activities [words indistinct], but that it did not wish to take part in them [words indistinct] the HVO unit joined its mother unit in Herzegovina. This is a decision that I consider logical, said Gen. Delic, but he also said that joint combat was the best way to form a federal army.

[Delic] As far as the forming of the HVO here in Sarajevo is concerned, I wish to stress that the Supreme Command Headquarters—at the time of the conflicts between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO—was [words indistinct] to avoid doing what the HVO Command did. We did not arrest or take HVO members to camps; we managed to resolve this politically and in an appropriate way. We have retained the composition of the units and the name of the Croatian brigades. The 115th Zrinski Brigade in Tuzla was the only brigade to be dissolved and that was done at the request of the Tuzla branch of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ]. We requested that this unit also be retained. However, the revival of the HVO in the region must be

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a process. As soon as it possible for B-H Army units to be formed in areas under HVO control—for example, the Pregava Brigade in Stolac, army units in Sapna and elsewhere—there will be no problems regarding the revival of the HVO. We simply wish this process to be equal.

[Cumurovic] Gen. Delic was also asked what would be done to end the military blockade of Sarajevo?

[Delic] I have to say that, for the moment, this is unrealistic. I say unrealistic because of UN Resolution 900, which defines Sarajevo as a protected zone. You see, any activity that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army might undertake within the protected zone, the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] considers illegal, despite the fact that we are persistently giving UNPROFOR information [words indistinct] characteristic of the Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor. [passage indistinct]

[Cumurovic] The aggressor has, since February, violated the resolution on the Sarajevo protected zone on numerous occasions; for example, when he recently attacked the area between Ilijas and Breza for some 20 days in full view of the UN forces. However, only half an hour passed before UNPROFOR representatives demanded a meeting after one action undertaken by a 1st Corps platoon at Spicasta Stijena, from where four citizens had that day been wounded by the aggressor. We highlight one more question from today's press conference held by Gen. Rasim Delic that is connected to promises regarding weapons for the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

[Delic] As far as the United States and Turkey—which I visited—are concerned, neither of these countries will give us arms until the arms embargo is officially lifted. When I was asked in the United States whether we were arming ourselves, I said that [words indistinct]. They said that they had information that we were receiving arms from other sources, to which I said the following: In two years, from 1992 to 1994, we have not received a single item that could be defined as heavy weaponry and would significantly contribute to establishing a balance of power. As for light infantry weapons, we will accept them from everyone we can, including yourselves. [end recording]

Delic Says Serbia Still Aiding Bosnian Serbs

LD2009172094 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Text] General Rasim Delic, commander of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, said in Sarajevo today that Belgrade is still helping the Bosnian Serbs militarily and that despite Milosevic's claims, crossing points across the Drina are not blocked. Ranko Mavrak reports:

[Mavrak] The Serbs are now using new tactics and are transporting men and military equipment across the Drina by night using pontoon bridges, General Rasim Delic said today. According to Bosnia-Herzegovina army sources, strong Serbian forces are currently concentrated in the vicinity of Srebrenica, pointing to the conclusion that this demilitarized zone under UN protection could shortly be the target of a fresh offensive. General Delic claims that Belgrade's ultimate aims—the complete occupation of Bosnia and the expulsion of the entire non-Serb population—have not changed. Only the statements of politicians have changed. The Serbs will continue the war against Bosnia for as long as the international community allows them to, Delic considers.

Speaking at a meeting today of the council of the Congress of Bosnian Muslim Intellectuals, Delic stressed that all the Bosnia- Herzegovina army corps have been considerably strengthened in the past few months and that they have shown that they can be a serious match for the Serb aggressor. However, there is unlikely to be a real reversal on Bosnia's battlefields while the embargo on arms supplies to the Sarajevo government is in force. We need modern weapons, in particular cannon, General Delic said. He stressed that the recent visit of the Bosnia-Herzegovina army delegation, which he headed, to Turkey and the United States was for that purpose and was successful.

Speaking about the functioning of the federation, the Bosnia- Herzegovina army commander claimed that this meant the strengthening of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state. He also noted that a federal army under a single command cannot be formed until the return of refugees is ensured and municipal and canton authorities set up on the basis of the election results of 1991.

Delic Details Deployed FRY Army Units

AU2009203294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Report by Mediha Colo on Army General Rasim Delic, supreme commander of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, addressing the conference of the Council of Bosnian Muslim Intellectuals in Sarajevo on 20 September—recorded]

[Text] [Colo] Army General Rasim Delic said at the beginning of his address that the essence of the real aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina had frequently become clouded. The real aggressor on Bosnia-Herzegovina is one, and that is Serbia and Montenegro, and its agent—the Yugoslav Army and its helpers in the shape of the paramilitary formations of the Bosnian Serbs, that is, the paramilitary formations that have been coming from Serbia and Montenegro to the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Army General Rasim Delic then presented a brief review of the aggression on our country. All the facts indicate that the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina was planned and prepared by the Yugoslav Army, and that it was this army that carried out the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina. This practice has continued to this day. It is well known which corps of

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the Yugoslav Army is deployed and where. In the region of (?Posavina) [words indistinct]. The Uzice Corps is in charge of eastern Bosnia, while the Podgorica Corps is deployed in eastern Herzegovina, and partly in eastern Bosnia. All this shows that there is no such thing as warring sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is typical external aggression together with an organized armed rebellion inside.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army—stemming from the patriotic front of the citizens of our country—is resisting this aggression, General Delic said, and added:

[Delic] The strength of the army is not now in arms. We have to say that nothing significant has changed since 1992. During my visit to Turkey, and particularly to the United States, I kept stressing this. The imbalance in arms can be rectified only if we obtain heavy artillery, and not [word indistinct]. The imbalance has not been rectified. What the army has achieved has been primarily through its organizational strengthening, its staffing improvements, and with its combat morale, and [word indistinct]. The combat morale is the result of the justified aims for which the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army is fighting. This is what has made this army so strong that—despite the extreme imbalance, that is probably unprecedented in the history of warfare—it is still scoring successes and defending the people and our suffering country. We have to say that in these circumstances the Bosnia- Herzegovina Army has prevented the aggressor from achieving its two strategic aims—the destruction of the non-Serbian population, particularly the Bosniak Muslim people, on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the complete occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Colo] The future of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has to be directed at organizational strengthening, which is already being done in the [words indistinct], while the imbalance in arms depends on the decision of the international community on the arms embargo. The lifting of the arms embargo against the Bosnian Government was one of the most important topics of Gen. Delic's talks in Turkey and the United States.

[Delic] For two years now the world media has been speculating on whether the arms embargo against Bosnia-Herzegovina should remain or be lifted. One important fact has been neglected, though, and that is that the embargo was introduced against the former Yugoslavia and that Bosnia-Herzegovina was not internationally recognized at the time when the embargo was introduced, so the embargo should not legally apply to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Colo] The constituting of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, and the formation of the federation army is a very topical question these days. General Delic said:

[Delic] When it comes to the federation army, one should say that from the start we had an idea of what kind of a federation and republic army we wanted. First of all, and the Constitution envisages this, in the interim period until the overall situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina is resolved, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency holds in its power the country's international legality and the protection of the state's integrity. Therefore, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency is the body that controls the armed forces of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. We favor a federation army, but the solution to the overall problem of Bosnia-Herzegovina has to imply that this army has to carry out orders from the highest state body, and that is the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency.

[Colo] The federation army has to be one force with one command, and with a unified system of command. There can be no other principle in the creation of a country's army since the army is supposed to protect the interests of the state, Army General Rasim Delic said today at the conference of the Council of Bosnian Muslim Intellectuals.

Muslims Seek Exemption From Arms Embargo

LD2009130994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1230 GMT 20 Sep 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Brussels, Sept. 20 (TANJUG)—Muslim Prime Minister in Sarajevo Haris Silajdzic asked Muslims be exempted from the U.N.-imposed arms embargo for the entire territory of former Yugoslavia.

NATO sources said Tuesday in a talk with Acting NATO Secretary-General Sergio Balanzino, Silajdzic discussed alternative plans in the event of exemption and withdrawal of U.N. peacekeepers.

The NATO spokesman, however, declined to say anything about the closed-door meeting.

The U.S. has threatened to unilaterally exempt the Bosnian Muslims from the arms embargo unless Bosnian Serbs accepted by October 15 the map on territorial division of Bosnia-Herzegovina as proposed by the "Contact Group" for Bosnia.

The countries having troops with the U.N. in Bosnia-Herzegovina have said they would withdraw them in case of exemption.

NATO Military Planning Committee last week confirmed that plans have been analyzed in cooperation with the U.N. as regards NATO's engagement on possible U.N. peacekeepers' evacuation.

Under these plans, NATO sources said, NATO would provide assistance not only in the form of "close air support" but also with land presence.

NATO sources also said Silajdzic asked for stricter observation of provisions on exclusion zones, which, in his view, applied only to the Serb side.

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Although Silajdzic's offers of an "alliance without frontiers" were listened to attentively at NATO headquarters, he was told that its implementation would to a greater measure depend on political decision of which NATO was only there to carry out.

Belgian press, quite unusually, gave no coverage to Silajdzic's visit to Brussels.

Zubak Addresses Herceg-Bosna Parliament in Mostar

LD2009123094 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Text] The house of representatives of the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna is meeting in Mostar today to discuss the current situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the implementation of the constitution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation. This is Zdenko Vranjes reporting:

[Vranjes] The lifting of the embargo on the supply of arms raises the question of a fresh outbreak of war with even greater suffering and losses and whether this issue will seriously damage the unity of the international community, Kresimir Zubak, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and Presidential Council of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, told delegates in his address. Both the Croat and Muslim side believe that the arms embargo is unjust and that it should be lifted, but unlike the Bosniak Muslims who are impatient in this regard, the Croat side considers that it is more important to maintain the unity of the international community even at the cost of delaying the lifting of the embargo, Zubak added. He said that the monitoring of the border between Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina should not be dismissed as a possibility of reaching a peaceful settlement because it cannot be denied that as a result of this there have already arisen serious political differences within the Serb nation.

Zubak reiterated again that the Washington agreement constitutes the national program of the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina and called for the complete unity of the Croat people in the implementation of the constitution of the Federation, the return of refugees and establishment of a law-governed state.

Dario Kordic, chairman of the Croatian Democratic Union [HDZ] of Bosnia-Herzegovina, also reported to the delegates on the talks between the leadership of the HDZ and leaders of the Party of Democratic Action, stressing the efforts to set up local administrative bodies as a prerequisite for the return of refugees.

Also on the agenda of the house of representatives today, in addition to the current political and security situation, is the implemention of measures in the struggle against crime in the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna.

UNHCR Reports on 'Ethnic Cleansing' Victims

AU2009155394 Paris AFP in English 1512 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Text] Geneva, Sept 20 (AFP)—More than 750,000 Moslems and Croats have been forced to flee north-eastern Bosnia in two-and-a-half years of war, with most of them the direct victims of "ethnic cleansing," a UN refugees agency (UNHCR) spokesman said Friday.

Around 80,000 "non-Serbs" now live in the area, compared with 837,000 before the conflict broke out in 1992, Ron Redmond said.

Some 6,000 non-Serbs have been forced out of the regions of Bijeljina and Janja since mid-July, with several hundred fleeing clashes Monday [19 September].

Of the 300,000 Moslems who lived in eastern Bosnia before the war, only 10,000 remain, Redmond said. He added just a few hundred were still based around Bijeljina, against 30,000 previously.

But he revealed the Moslem population of Tuzla in central Bosnia had in contrast doubled to about 600,000 since the war started, owing to an influx of refugees.

Redmond also said only 17,000 non-Serbs now lived in the regions of Prijedor and Banja Luka, compared with 537,000 before the fighting.

The UNHCR and the Red Cross have condemned the continuing ethnic cleansing in Bosnia.

Meanwhile, the UNHCR revised downwards its forecast for its winter fund cash needs in former Yugoslavia. The drop in the overall requirement came following the decision of the Croats and Moslems to form a federation.

The revised budget for this year is now down to $252 million, having earlier topped $338 million. Redmond said the new UNHCR total included $90.7 million of new donations and $91.2 million of existing reserves.

Apart from the "overall improvements in central Bosnia," Redmond said the budget reduction reflected a fall in the number of refugees in Croatia, with some people having returned to Croat- and Moslem-held zones within Bosnia.

But he said the UNHCR remained "especially concerned with the situation in eastern (Moslem) enclaves, and the continued access to Sarajevo."

UNHCR Suspends Airlift After Aircraft Hit

AU2009143694 Paris AFP in English 1321 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Sept 20 (AFP)—The UNHCR suspended its aid flights to the besieged Bosnian capital Tuesday [20 September] for the second time in 24 hours after a plane was struck by a round of small arms fire, officials said here.

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The French C-130 transporter was hit in the tail shortly after landing here just after midday, said Lt-Colonel Bernard Labarsouque.

No one was hurt in the incident, said Labarsouque, adding that the plane had not been deliberately targeted.

The plane was struck by a "spent bullet" as it taxied to its arrival spot, he said.

"If the shot had been fired deliberately it would have pierced" the tail section, he said, "which is why I can say that the plane was not targeted."

The office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees suspended all flights to the Bosnian capital Monday following heavy clashes north of the city between Bosnian Army and Serb forces, the worst around the capital for seven months.

Around half a dozen planes had been able to land at Sarajevo Tuesday before the relief flights were suspended, a UNHCR official said.

"Ancona say they (the flights) may be back tomorrow," said the official, who declined to be named, referring to the Italian town from where part of the Sarajevo the aid airlift is organised.

Labarsouque confirmed that the airport was still open and that UNPROFOR flights were still landing.

Rose, Officials To Discuss Sarajevo Utilities

AU2009164494 Paris AFP in English 1605 GMT 20 Sep 94

[By Jon Boyle]

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Sept 20 (AFP)—UN Bosnia commander Lt.-Gen. Sir Michael Rose travelled to Bosnian Serb headquarters in Pale on Tuesday [20 September] to meet senior Serb leaders, in the highest level talks to date aimed at ending Sarajevo's power, gas and water cuts, UN officials said. [passage omitted]

UN negotiators have tried in vain to secure Serb clearance for UN teams to repair the cables and pylons.

A meeting on utilities Monday ended without progress and all sides were to meet again Wednesday, Grimes said. [passage omitted]

UN officials said in private that local Serb civilian authorities were under pressure from the Serb military at Ilidza to keep Sarajevo cut off. [passage omitted]

Report on Talks on Restoring Sarajevo Utilities

AU2009175994 Paris AFP in English 1710 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Report by Jon Boyle]

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Sept 20 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs on Tuesday [20 September] tied restoration of Sarajevo's power and water to the repair of utilities in Serb-held areas, as a top-level meeting of UN and Serb officials on the outages produced little of substance.

UN Bosnia commander Lt-General Sir Michael Rose held three and a half hours of talks with Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and senior members of the Serb hierarchy, as Sarajevo endured a sixth straight day without power or water.

Bosnian Serb chief of staff, Major-General Manojlo Milovanovic told Pale radio after the meeting that his side had ruled out resolving the issue on a "partial" basis.

"If the Moslem side ask for electricity to be restored in Sarajevo, for example, then we will ask for pylons in [Bosanska] Posavina to be repaired, and similarly for water," he said.

He was referring to the eight-kilometre (five-mile) wide Posavina corridor in northern Bosnia, which links Serb-controlled regions in east and west Bosnia.

Rose did not comment on the talks in the Serb stronghold of Pale but UN Protection Force spokeswoman Claire Grimes said later "we don't accept linkage."

Nevertheless, the Pale meeting had been "useful," she said, adding that a meeting of experts would be held Wednesday to discuss the utilities situation.

However, the encounter with Karadzic appeared to have produced nothing concrete. [passage omitted]

UN efforts to persuade the Serbs to restore supplies at Kasindolska, with UN officials saying in private that local Serb civilian authorities were under pressure from the Serb military at Ilidza to keep Sarajevo cut off.

Sunday's attack on Serb positions north of Sarajevo—which sparked the worst fighing around the capital in seven months and prompted the a UN threat of airstrikes against both sides—appears to have made the restoration of utilities more remote. [passage omitted]

The gas, water and electricity outages have already pushed up prices, with bread prices more than doubling to two German marks, and diesel to 12 marks from nine, in a city where the average monthly salary is two to three marks. [passage omitted]

Croat-Muslim Tension Rising in Zenica Area

LD2009143394 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Text] Twenty days ago the commander of the Bosnia-Herzegovina army's Third Corps and representatives of the Croat population living in the Zenica region agreed on the withdrawal of mojahedin units from the Croat village of Podbrezje. However, as HABENA [Herceg-Bosna news agency] reports, the agreement has not been respected.

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According to HABENA, UNPROFOR's Zenica-based Turkish battalion units have been helping the Croat population living in the area. Turkish battalion patrols have been quick in their response after receiving reports of brutal behavior by the mojahedin.

Ganic Visits Novi Travnik, Meets Local Officials

AU2109083994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Report by Sabahudin Riso from Novi Travnik]

[Text] Ejup Ganic, member of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and vice president of the Federation, today visited Novi Travnik. Accompanied by his hosts, Salih Krnjic, president of the War Presidency, and Saban Rizic, director general of Bratstvo enterprise, he visited production plants in Novi Travnik.

I am satisfied with what I have seen, Mr. Ganic said, particularly with the fact that the eagerness of the workers in this region to contribute as much as they can to the defense capabilities of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina through the revival of production is evident everywhere.

After he had visited the Bratstvo factory, he held a meeting with the Bosniak and Croatian representatives of authority in this region. Mr. Salih Krnjic, president of the War Presidency of the Novi Travnik municipality, briefed Mr. Ganic on the activities so far regarding the implementation of the federation and the establishment of joint authorities in Novi Travnik. Mr. Marko Vidak, president of the Croatian part of Novi Travnik, expressed his views on the implementation of the Zagreb Agreement, too. According to both, Novi Travnik has moved from the standstill a long time ago. However, talks and negotiations should continue.

Mr. Ganic stressed with particular pleasure that he had encountered in Novi Travnik an exceptional atmosphere of understanding and tolerance among the representatives of the Bosniak and Croatian peoples who had been engaged in a bloody war until about six months ago, the war that had unforeseen consequences expressed, above all, in human casualties.

I am leaving Novi Travnik truly satisfied, Mr. Ganic concluded. Judging by the statements by Novi Travnik Bosniaks and Croats, the last 10 days of this month will be marked by a series of joint meetings. Their sole aim will be the establishment of the joint authorities with special reference to satisfying the interests of all those who live in the Novi Travnik municipality.

Ganic Visits Bugojno, Meets Community Members

AU2109073794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Report by Dzevad Dziho]

[Text] During his visit to Bugojno, Ejup Ganic, member of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and vice president of the Federation, today held talks in the parish office of St. Ante with the Bugojno parish priest, Friar Janko Jubusovic, and members of the Bugojno Croatian Democratic Community.

During the talks they stressed that the Bosniaks and Croats should jointly build the federation, which is the best solution for both nations. This project will enable both Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia to remain sovereign states within the internationally recognized borders. If the federation project were to fail, both peoples would face unforeseeable consequences.

The first results have been achieved, Ganic stresses. Clashes have stopped and the process of rapprochement has started. Some communities have gone further. A body, which will oversee all activities, has been set up to facilitate a smoother implementation of the Federal Constitution. The international community has also been invited to (?help) the implementation of the (?Washington) agreement.

Ejup Ganic said that the implementation of the plan for the return of refugees and expelled persons must begin. This is a complex operation that will last some time. Private property will be respected. What used to be Croatian will remain Croatia. The same applies to the Bosniak property.

Ejup Ganic, member of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia- Herzegovina and vice president of the Federation, also visited two schools in Bugojno, which are being repaired by UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces], a fighters' cemetery, and a refugee center accommodating those expelled from the Banja Luka region.

UN Forces Fire on Serb Gun in Exclusion Zone

AU2109113694 Paris AFP in English 1005 GMT 21 Sep 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Sept 21 (AFP)—French UN troops made a second bid to destroy an unauthorized Serb gun trained on the sole roadway linking Sarajevo's suburbs to Bosnian-army held zones in the center of the country, a UN spokesman said.

Lieutenant-Colonel Bernard Labarsouque for the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) said a light tank on Tuesday fired 40 20-mm shells for the second time in a week at the site of the Serb gun, a 20-mm anti-aircraft battery.

He said the salvo was a riposte after the gun, which has been threatening the access road for several weeks, was used to fire a shell at a bridge in the Butmir suburb on the capital's southern front line.

"We responded with a shot meant to destroy," according to the spokesman who said that at lease one UN shell hit the Serb gun.

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He said the Serb battery was hidden in a hotel in Ilidza, a Sarajevo suburb behind the lines of Serb forces, who have been tightening the noose around the Bosnian capital in recent weeks, cutting off water and power supplies and forcing Moslems from their homes in other parts of the country.

In a first attempt last Thursday, the same French unit fired about 100 shots and 15 shells on the Serb gun but failed to put the piece out of commission.

UN forces have come under sharp criticism in the international press for what is seen as its failure to act against a clear violation of the UN-imposed exclusion zone banning heavy weapons from a 20-kilometer (12-mile) radius around the Bosnian capital.

The last UN attempt to destroy an artillery piece in the capital's exclusion zone came on August 5 when North Atlantic Treaty Organization planes attacked a Serb anti-tank gun.

The UN spokesman said Serbs had agreed to withdraw three artillery pieces from the exclusion zone in an agreement Sunday between the UNPROFOR and the Serb chief of staff, General Manojlo Milovanovic, Labarsouque said.

It concerns two 82-mm mortars and a 90-mm tank cannon to be escorted out of the zone by UNPROFOR and UN military observers.

The spokesman said this agreement was a "sign of good will" from the Serbs, despite a rise in violence and tension around the capital since Sunday, with 1,280 ceasefire violations recorded around Sarajevo's front lines.

Since last February, 281 Serb heavy weapons have been regrouped in nine locations guarded by UN troops while 42 heavy arms from the Bosnian army are under guard at another center.

But UN officers have conceded that an unspecified number of weapons are still in firing positions or being moved from place to place in the exclusion zone despite the UN ban.

On Sunday Bosnians fired 82-mm mortars hidden in private homes, while Serbs retook control over three 120-mm mortars after surrounding the site where they were under French UN guard for 18 hours.

Army Rejects UN Claim of Serb 'Counterattack'

AU2009190194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In the protected zone of Sarajevo, in the vicinity of the city, the aggressor has deployed artillery pieces that are not under the control of the UN Protected Force [UNPROFOR]. There is a 82-mm mortar on Blagovac, two in Poljine, one 120-mm mortar in Poljine, one in Jagomir, and one in (Gornji Biosak), a 76-mm Zis gun on Palez, and a tank in Palez, and another in Pitine Stijene on Mt. Trebevic.

A 1st Corps Information Service statement that we have received this evening reads: This morning's information supplied by the UNPROFOR Information Office presents an arbitrary analysis of the fighting since 19 September 1994 in the Grdonj area—saying that, we quote, the army of the Bosnian Serbs launched a counterattack in the area of Grdonj, north of Sedrenik, and recaptured the territory that it had lost in the weekend attack by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army—and this is incorrect, to say the least. There was no enemy counterattack at all on this part of the defense line yesterday morning, and the positions held by the members of the Bosnia- Herzegovina Army 1st Corps are firm and stable. There is no truth either in the information from the UNPROFOR Information Office on the number of Bosnia-Herzegovina 1st Corps members killed. And the fact is that the UNPROFOR figures for those killed on the aggressor's side is much higher than those presented to the public.

We are surprised that the UNPROFOR Information Office has not informed our public or the international public about the agreement reached yesterday at the airport on the deployment of UN observers in Spicasta Stijena, together with the representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 1st Corps and those of the Serbian paramilitary occupying forces, to oversee the cease-fire agreement in this location from which 43 civilians have so far been killed with dozens more wounded. When the representatives of UNPROFOR and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 1st Corps arrived today at the agreed time at the spot, the aggressor simply refused to allow the observers to take up their positions and threatened to open fire. The UNPROFOR members, as usual, withdrew in the face of such a threat by the aggressor. This has been stated by the Bosnia- Herzegovina Army 1st Corps Information Service.

'Major' Muslim Offensive Now in 6th Day

LD2009174894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1652 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Text] Belgrade, Sept. 20 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA said Tuesday that a major Muslim offensive on Serb villages in the upper part of the Neretva river valley, Herzegovina, entered its sixth day.

SRNA quoted Bosnian Serb military sources as saying that the Muslims attacked Serb villages near the town of Konjic, north Herzegovina, using heavy infantry weapons and mortars.

SRNA said Bosnian Serb army scouts had on Monday registered the regrouping of Muslim troops in the region of Mt. Igman and Mt. Bjelasnica, south of Sarajevo, and in the region of the eastern-Bosnian Muslim-held city of Gorazde.

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The Bosnian Serb army sources said these activities indicated that the Muslims intended to continue the offensive which aimed to take the upper and central parts of the Drina river valley in eastern Bosnia.

Combat Reported Inside Gorazde Exclusion Zone

AU2009113494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 20 Sept 94

[Text] This morning, the aggressor stepped up small arms provocations on the defenders' lines in Ilovaca on the Gorazde front. At about 0930, the chetniks carried out attacks inside the 3k exclusion zone, on the left bank of the Drina river. This was reported by Fahrudin Becic.

Army Liberates Four Villages on Konjic Front

AU2009144894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Report by Omer Karic from Konjic]

[Excerpts] The fighters of the 4th Corps have added four more villages to the six villages and a dozen strategic points already liberated. These are: (Branjesine), (Zagrlica), Janjina, and Ladjanica, and dominant landmarks of (?Orlovka), Lastve, and Cetkovka. [passage omitted]

As for the Mostar front, the enemy has continued to shell the defense lines, and civilian targets. The chetniks have been firing 105-mm and 155-mm howitzers, and 82-mm and 120-mm mortars, and from tanks and antiaircraft weapons from the infamous strongholds of Podvelez, Banjdol, (Pedran Glava), (Uvac), and Breznjaca at Bijelo Polje, (Radja), Blagaj, [word indistinct], Drvenik, and [word indistinct]. [passage omitted]

'Provocations' Reported in Olovo, Zavidovici

AU2109093894

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0800 GMT on 21 September within its regular seven-minute newscast carries several reports on the situation in the republic.

The Information Service of the 1st Glorious Olovo Hill Brigade reports that "within the last 24 hours, the aggressor carried out provocations with infantry weapons, antiaircraft machine-guns and antiaircraft guns along the entire defense line on the Olovo battlefield. The aggressor used 120-mm mortars to shell defense lines in Konjska Gradina region and the district of [name indistinct] from the Gornje Krusevo Region. Our fighters did not respond to this activity. There were no casualties"

A report by the Press Center of the 3d Corps read by an unnamed correspondent says that "yesterday, Chetniks were calmer in the theater of operations of the 3d Corps. However, they could not stay calm, so occasional shots were heard from various infantry weapons and artillery. Intensive activity with antiaircraft weapons has been registered in the general region of Zavidovici, particularly from [word indistinct] and [words indistinct] defenders of Imamovici. The Bofors weapon positioned on (Prizna) was not completely silent and operated on the village of (Mednik). An 82-mm mortar launched several bombs on (Perkovici). There was similar activity yesterday in the Doboj-Tesanj and Teslic battlefields, but with more frequent artillery activity. However, there have been no consequences on the firm defense lines of the 7-South Operations Group."

A report read by an unidentified correspondent, which was sent by the Press center of the Bosna Operations Group via the Press Center of the 3d Corps says that "yesterday, defense lines in the Zavidovici-Vozuca battlefield were subjected to frequent Chetnik fire from infantry weapons with occasional activity by antiaircraft guns and antiaircraft machine-guns. A dozen 82-mm mortar bombs also fell. The village of (Mednik) was pounded with a Bofors gun. During the night, M-84 submachine-guns were heard and this morning, Chetniks are opening infantry fire on the [word indistinct] defense lines. The situation is similar in the neighboring Maglaj, where the combat activity is somewhat less intensive than the previous days."

A studio announcer reads the report by the 1st Corps Information Service saying that "the aggressor's combat activity in the Sarajevo battlefield last night was characterized by sporadic infantry fire along the entire dividing line. In some regions, the aggressor used rifle-mounted grenade launchers and portable rocket launchers. Our reconnaissance units registered intensified movement by the enemy's military vehicles on the city outskirts."

Fighting in Teslic, Doboj, Bihac, Gorazde

AU2109112894

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1000 GMT on 21 September within its regular 15- minute newscast carries reports on the situation in the republic.

Studio announcer Irfan Calo reads Mirudin Aldobasic's report that "last night and this morning, joint units of the 7-South Operations Group were forced on several occasions to respond to the aggressor's artillery and infantry attacks from Teslic and Doboj. In the morning hours, our reconnaissance units noticed a huge concentration of enemy forces along the entire defense line of the Tesanj Region and the regrouping of the Chetnik forces from Doboj deep into the region of Mt. Ozren." Further on, Calo says that "aggressor's provocations continue on the defense lines on the Gorazde front, and a constant increase in the concentration of Chetniks has also been noticed."

From Bihac Mirza Sadikovic reports that "in the early morning hours, the artillery attacks intensified in Bihac District, as well as on the defense lines in the Bosanska Otoka section, where Karadzic's Chetniks have been

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destroying villages for days. Attacks have been intensified in the Buzim area, as well as in the Velika Kladusa region from the so called Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina." Sadikovic further says that "Chetnik attempts at infantry breakthroughs on Grmusko-Srbljanski Plateau have been registered again."

Serbs Claim Muslims Training at NATO Bases

AU2009171294 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 10 Sep 94 p 2

[Report by V. Knez: "Missile Systems Distributed"]

[Text] Zvornik, 9 September—Muslim media have reported that surface-to-surface missile systems have been deployed in the area around Tuzla airport, which the Serbian side reported a long time ago.

The local Muslim Kladanj television showed pictures of the new antiaircraft missile systems in combat positions around the Dubrava Airport near Tuzla.

These are smuggled TF-8 missile systems of Chinese origin and more powerful NATO systems with a 50-km rage. According to Serbian military sources, Muslim [Bosnia-Herzegovina Army] forces transported these systems across territory under Croatian control, having paid the Croats a large sum of money for the privilege.

The Serbian side also has information from reliable sources that members of the so-called Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina are being trained in the use of the missile systems and other modern weapons in NATO bases in Frankfurt and Munich by instructors from Western countries.

It is added that the training is being organized not only for Muslims from the former Bosnia-Herzegovina but also for volunteers from Turkey.

Serbian sources claim that all the organization and assignment of candidates to training centers are carried out by various missions, especially political ones, of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina in Germany, whereas most of these tasks in Croatia are performed by Imam [Muslim leader] Sefko Omerbasic in Zagreb.

Muslim sources claim at the same time that the mayor of Tuzla, Mr. Sehim Beslagic, invited Pope John Paul II to visit this town. Serbian sources warned that a visit by the Pope could mean an attempt to open Tuzla airport.

These sources also claim that intensified Muslim attacks could follow suit with the aim of provoking a Serbian response so that the Serbs could—according to a tried and tested formula—be blamed for the conflict and the exposure of Tuzla airport to danger.

Serbian military sources state that these intentions are indirectly confirmed by intensified offensive activities of Muslim forces, especially over the last 15 days, from the Kadesija and Tuzla regions toward Serbian territory in the Zvornik region.

Measures Taken Against Serb Krajina Smugglers

LD2009161994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1513 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Excerpt] Banja Luka, 20 Sep (TANJUG)—Radoslav Brdjanin, deputy prime minister of the Srpska republic, stated today that the aim of introducing customs duties and excise on goods travelling from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the republic of Serb Krajina is not to impose a blockade on our brothers, but to prevent smuggling and profiteering on our territory.

Brdjanin stated this at a session of the Banja Luka municipal committee of the Serb Democratic Party, explaining that some "importers" based in the republic of Serb Krajina are not paying the normal duties to either the Serb republic or the republic of Serb Krajina and are thus smuggling goods into the territory of the Srpska republic and making money. Brdjanin said that every dinar collected as duties and excise from the Krajina importers will be paid into the coffers of that Serb state.

He also announced that the governments of the two Serb lands will hold a joint session in Banja Luka on 22 September and added that he hopes all misunderstandings will be removed then. [passage omitted]

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Tudjman Talks With Contact Group Representatives

LD2009190294 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman is talking to representatives of the member countries of the Contact Group in the Presidential Palace. Jozo Curic reports:

[Curic] Over half an hour ago Croatian President Franjo Tudjman received in the Presidential Palace the ambassador representatives of the member countries of the Contact Group. They are headed by Ambassador Charles Thomas, President Clinton's special envoy. Russia is represented by ambassador Nikiforov; and Germany by Michael Steiner, a man who along with Charles Redman helped a great deal in the Washington agreement. The representatives of France and Britain are here, too. Their discussion is focused on the Contact Group's plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina. There is also the separate issue of a possible easing of UN sanctions against Belgrade if President Milosevic exercises his positive influence on the Bosnian Serbs so that they accept the Contact Group plan.

Another issue is the possible stepping up of sanctions against the Bosnian Serbs if they continue the war and continue rejecting the plan of the group for Bosnia-Herzegovina. One of the issues is also the possibility of harsher sanctions against the Serbians if Belgrade fails to pressure the Serbs and if the Serbs outmaneuver the international community's action. There is also the issue of the UN Protection Force's new mandate.

The talks on overall relations in the region are being attended by Mate Granic, deputy prime minister and minister for foreign affairs; Ambassador and adviser Zuzul; Ambassador Bekic; and presidential advisers Matic and Pasalic.

Granic Recommends Extension of UN Mandate

LD2109120894 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 21 Sep 94

[Text] The 16th session of the Chamber of Counties began in the Croatian Parliament this morning. The session is attended by 67 deputies, including parliamentary opposition parties. Mate Granic, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, addressed the deputies on the main topic of today's session: UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Forces] mandate. Zoltan Kabok reports from the assembly.

[Kabok] The issue of extending the peace forces' mandate cannot be reviewed as a separate item, but only in the framework of the overall situation in the region, primarily in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the international community's peace efforts and our country's international position, Minister Granic stressed. UNPROFOR has not completed a single one of the important tasks specified in the [UN] Security Council resolutions referring to the reintegration of the protected area, the Croatian foreign minister said. He stressed that it is Croatia's right to achieve that by all legitimate and legal means. Our country wants to find a solution by peaceful and political means, Granic went on to say, taking into account the international community's interests and recommendations. But, we must always remember that our realistic and objective national interest must remain a priority.

Speaking about measures for the future, Minister Granic said that Croatia will give UNPROFOR the opportunity to come closer to its real mandate within three months. If in that period there are no changes, or the changes do not meet our fundamental interests, no one can demand that Croatia should extend UNPROFOR's mandate as it is, Mate Granic, the deputy prime minister and foreign minister, said at in conclusion.

After that, the deputies were addressed by Miomir Zuzul, the Croatian ambassador at the United Nations in Geneva, and by Mate Simic, president of the Association of Refugees, who appealed to the Croatian Government not to extend UNPROFOR's current mandate. He also requested that the Croatian State be more determined in the defining of a new mandate. Mate Simic also spoke about the position and problems of the refugees. A debate followed.

Tudjman Relieves Deputy Prime Minister Seks

LD2009183594 Zagreb HTV Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman today announced his decision to relieve Vladimir Seks of the duty of deputy prime minister because Seks is going to take up a new post.

'Serious' RSK-Bosnian Serb Dispute on Customs

LD2109111694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0949 GMT 21 Sep 94

[Text] Knin, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—The government in Knin has done nothing to cause the Srpska republic government's decision to introduce excise taxes, customs duties, and turnover taxes in their export-import dealings with the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], Krajina prime minister Borislav Mikelic told TANJUG.

The RSK government has not contributed to Yugoslavia's blockade of the Srpska republic, he stressed. These taxes will inevitably cause certain consequences and disturbances in economic activity, Mikelic said.

In his opinion, all this could have been avoided if the relevant ministries of the two republics had reached agreement, because coordination and joint control of exports and imports would stop illegal economic activity. This was precisely the aim of the federal customs administration's decision to tighten control of

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border crossings and the transit of goods for the RSK through the Srpska republic, Mikelic said.

This is why the Krajina prime minister is surprised that the Srpska republic authorities have introduced duties on the transit of fuel and other goods. For example, the transit tax on a liter of petroleum is 80 pfennigs, for a liter of gasoline 95 pfennigs, and for a packet of cigarettes one dinar. Tax on the timber exported from the RSK is 80 dinars per cubic meter.

[Bosnian] Srpska republic prime minister Dusan Kozic and deputy prime minister Radoslav Brdjanin explained their government's decision on Srpska republic television as protection of the market, prevention of smuggling and profiteering, that is, illegal economic activities. But serious disagreements between Pale and Knin have emerged and, according to Mikelic, this is unnecessary. "We have to show that we want a union with our deeds—fewer slogans and more concrete activities," he said.

The disagreements over excise taxes, customs duties, and turnover taxes will be on the agenda of a meeting between the relevant ministries of the republics which is expected to take place in Banja Luka tomorrow. Mikelic believes that the disagreements will be resolved, adding that he is "against the raising of tensions and that there is no need for the leaderships to add fuel to the flames."

"This is the last thing needed by our people, who are lacking basic goods and fuel, people who have valid reasons to be dissatisfied. I certainly will not conduct such a policy and I will do everything I can to resolve the problems," the RSK prime minister said.

RSK President Reports Croatia Obtaining Arms

LD2009112794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1026 GMT 20 Sep 94

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Sep (TANJUG)—Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], sent a letter today to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali warning him that large quantities of offensive weapons have been delivered to Croatia, including MiG-24 [as received] planes and MI-8 transport helicopters.

According to a statement issued by the RSK President's Office, Martic warns Butrus-Ghali that Croatia has been conducting its preparations unhindered for an attack on the RSK and that more and more planes are violating Resolution No. 713 and landing at airports in Zagreb, Varazdin, Pula, Cakovec, and Krk on a daily basis.

The Security Council remains silent as far as these events are concerned, Martic stresses, adding that Resolution No. 781 provides for the deployment of military observers at airports in Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Yugoslavia.

"I ask you to use the power of your authority and the rights granted to you by Article 4 of Resolution No. 781 to undertake urgent measures aimed at the full implementation of the resolutions mentioned above and at returning the credibility of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] and the trust in its ability to successfully carry out its mission based on the principle of the equal treatment of all warring sides," the RSK president's letter says.

Warns of Attack

LD2109114994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1059 GMT 21 Sep 94

[Excerpt] Subotica, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], said in Subotica today that "the only way Tudjman can appease the opposition in Croatia, which has been attacking him with increasing frequency and ferocity, is by launching an attack against the RSK."

"That is why we are devoting equal attention to preparations for war and for economic and cultural life in peacetime," Martic told TANJUG after his meeting with the municipal leadership of the Socialist Party of Serbia and local businessmen in Subotica. [passage omitted]

Mesic Explains HND Opposition to Confederation

AU2109064194 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 9 Sep 94 p 7

[Interview with HND President Stipe Mesic by Mladenka Saric; place and date not given: "We May Be the Only Ones Outside Parliament"]

[Text] All the major opposition parties have over the past few weeks announced that they would attend the first parliamentary session this autumn, except the Croatian Independent Democrats [HND]. While other opposition parties say that they will be able to show in parliament that the parliamentary changes that led to the crisis were illegal, the HND members, who, having left the HDZ and formed a parliamentary party, caused the political commotion, are extremely reserved, and they have been insisting that the May agreement between the opposition and the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] be implemented.

[Saric] Can we expect to see the HND deputies in parliament?

[Mesic] The parliamentary crisis occurred as the result of the HDZ not abiding by what they had signed. We assume that the HDZ leadership will reconsider what they signed, look through the agreement, and, if they agree that it be implemented, the HND will return to parliament.

[Saric] However, the HSLS [Croatian Social Liberal Party], the SDP [Social Democratic Party, formerly Party of Democratic Changes], and the HSS [Croatian Peasants Party] have not set that as a condition. Will

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their possible decision to return have any influence on the HND's final move, or will you alone remain outside parliament?

[Mesic] It will certainly have some influence, because we said we would resolve the problem of coming to parliament through agreements. We will put everything on the table, consider all the conditions that influence the arrival or absence, and then decide.

Crises Are Resolved Through Agreements

[Saric] You said that it was up to the HDZ if you will return to parliament. Why is that? Do you think the HDZ will continue negotiations with the opposition? It has been four months since the parliamentary crisis broke out, and many people no longer remember what happened; all they know is that the opposition is outside parliament.

[Mesic] Most of the people are no longer aware of why we are in the current situation. They do not remember the contents of the agreement signed by the HDZ and the opposition, either. This is why we will insist on the agreement being made topical, and after that we can expect that we will sit down at a table together with the HDZ and try to resolve the problem through a consensus.

[Saric] However, as far as the HDZ is concerned there is no crisis. Parliament is operating, making decisions, and many parties are in there. Why should they go back to the negotiations?

[Mesic] Even the most politically naive person understands that the HDZ was scared when the HND appeared and they consented to an agreement. When they managed to have several deputies return to the HDZ, they renounced the agreement. They were encouraged by the majority in parliament, and they have been trying to rule in the same way. In order to join in European integration, we must also behave in a European way. That means that crises must always be resolved through agreements. When this is not the case, the only way out are early elections. I believe that President Tudjman will schedule the elections for as early as this autumn.

[Saric] The speculation concerning early elections have been officially denied.

[Mesic] This is proof that there will be elections after the others have been put to sleep.

[Saric] There have been much speculation on the (dis-)unity of the opposition before the summer break, but despite the forecasts that said it would fall apart, the opposition will meet next week and discuss the return to parliament. Could it happen that they will disagree on this issue?

[Mesic] It is quite probable that there are differences in opinion in all the parties, but not in the HND. I have come to believe this through what gets out into the public. Some support the return, while some others oppose it. Even if everyone enters parliament, and we remain outside it, we believe that this way we will display political courage and reality.

A Question of Life and Death

[Saric] Are you taking into account the fact that you may remain the only ones outside parliament?

[Mesic] Yes, we are.

[Saric] The HND welcomed the Washington Agreement in the part that relates to the Muslim-Croat Federation, but it opposed the confederation with Croatia. Why is that?

[Mesic] If we were to become hostages to the selfish politics of Herceg-Bosna, then the survival of Croatia would be in question. If the Croat-Bosniak federation can enter a confederation with Croatia, the so-called Srpska republic would join Serbia and swallow up the so-called Krajina in Croatia. To us this is the question of life and death. If Bosnia-Herzegovina formally remains a state, two confederations would meet on its territory—the Bosniak-Croat with Croatia and the so-called Serb land with Serbia. The consideration of this being another Yugoslavia is in that case not such a distant concept.

[Saric] The Croatian leadership has officially denied all such fears.

[Mesic] If two confederations are created, then this is only one step away from a new Yugoslavia. We should admit that the war between the Croats and the Bosniaks was a mistake, that Herceg-Bosna should not have been a response to the so-called Srpska republic, and that the alliance with the Muslims should have been preserved. This is the only way out both for Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

[Saric] At that time the HND officials—you, Mr. Manolic, Mr. Degoricija, and others—were at the time in the top authorities. Why did you not influence such policies?

[Mesic] We tried everything within the HDZ structures, but the influence of the forces that supported the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina was stronger. Since we could not succeed within the party structures, we said in interviews what we believed and later founded the party. Now we can take everything back to the beginning, together with the opposition and that part of the HDZ that understands Croatian policies toward Bosnia-Herzegovina.

HND in All Cities

[Saric] You recently said that out of the parliamentary crisis emerges a government crisis, and that this could be expected. Why?

[Mesic] According to the Constitution, we have tripartite authorities, but the fact is that all the power is concentrated in the hands of one man [Tudjman]. In order to

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get out of this situation, everyone should be put back into the framework of the Constitution. If we manage to do that, we will show that we are a mature democratic society. However, if we start to analyze things a little, we can see what the representatives of the current politics are saying. Gojko Susak [defense minister] says, after this tragedy and all the blood spilt in Bosnia-Herzegovina, that it is no use crying over spilt milk. He also says that we should not cry for Europe either, because it is not all milk and honey. They want isolation, and part of the HDZ conducts such politics.

[Saric] How strong is the opposite currently?

[Mesic] It is too weak and everything is up to President Tudjman. However, as far as I can see, he is still interested in the right group. Where Croatia is heading depends on his decision.

[Saric] How is the spreading of the HND network going?

[Mesic] We are present in all the counties and cities, and now we are going into all the towns and municipalities. By the time the elections are held, we will be able to inform our members and followers of everything that is important, since the media, particularly the electronic media, are not particularly inclined toward us.

[Saric] So, the HND is prepared to return to parliament only on condition that the May agreement is observed?

[Mesic] It is in our interest that the HDZ respond to the agreement and states what it wants before the Croatian public. If they give up, that will also be an answer, and in that case we can appear before the public with an open face and can fight for our aims. The public will understand that we did not get into this to destabilize Croatia, but to destabilize the disastrous politics.

[Box, p 7]

The Political Wisdom of Croatia

[Saric] You mentioned the Croatian opposition bloc, which should fight the elections together. One opposition coalition has already failed, so what should this one be like?

[Mesic] It did not have firm foundations. Now there are enough democratic forces to find both the aim and the model on which they will associate, fight the elections, and win.

[Saric] Which parties do you see in the opposition block?

[Mesic] All the parties that are in the Opposition Coordination. This is where the political wisdom of Croatia is concentrated.

[Saric] Do you think the liberals, the second most powerful party in the country, could join this bloc?

[Mesic] Those who do not join will lose the elections.

[Box, p 7]

The Decision on Elections After the Pope's Departure!

[Saric] The stratification in the HDZ has stopped. However, the HND claims it will continue. Why?

[Mesic] This is precisely what should be expected. The radical elements in the HDZ are not satisfied. They did not get the influential positions to which they aspired and now they are creating problems both for President Tudjman and the reasonable remainder of the HDZ. There will probably be some dissipation. I think that not much time is left for this, as the elections will be held in the autumn.

[Saric] When do you think this may be?

[Mesic] I think that President Tudjman will schedule the elections after the Pope's departure.

[Saric] You mean, before the parliamentary session and the decision concerning UNPROFOR?

[Mesic] By "after the pope's departure," I mean in a few weeks. It is possible that it will happen during the parliamentary session or after it. In any case, the decision is looming.

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Chinese Embassy Begins Operations in Skopje

AU2009150094 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English Sep 20 94

[Text] People's Republic of China's Embassy in Skopje officially started working yesterday. Li Shujuan, an experienced diplomat who worked for 12 years in the embassy in Belgrade, was appointed Charge d'Affairs. The Macedonian embassy in Beijing opened a few months ago.

Parties Group To Form New Election Coalition

AU2009153694 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English Sep 20 94

[Text] The Christian Democratic Party of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], Democratic Party of Serbs, New Communist Movement in Macedonia, League of Communists, and the Democratic Party of Yugoslavs in Macedonia (all being non- parliamentary parties) announced yesterday their decision to enter the elections as a coalition, under the name "Progressive Democratic Left Wing of Macedonia." The five parties will have a common platform and will nominate parliamentary candidates for all 120 seats. The president of the Christian Democratic Party Vasil Ristevski will be the coalition's coordinator and will also be nominated a presidential candidate, but not upon compliance with the current Law on Presidential Elections, but by gathering signatures from the membership. The coalition complains against the fact that current president is favored and thoroughly helped by the state- controlled media. The coalition platform sees Macedonia as a national state of the Macedonian people and all equal nationalities. It will fight for Balkans and Europe without frontiers and open economic integration. Coalition members also mentioned the second part of the 1991 referendum, stating Macedonia's right to enter into federation with other republics of the former Yugoslavia.

Commission Discusses Financing Election Campaigns

AU2009154994 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English Sep 20 94

[Excerpt] The State Elections Commission held a session yesterday to again discuss the presidential candidates nomination procedure and financing election campaign in the country. It was said the approved 10 million denars are far from covering for all expenses of the elections. The commission estimated about 45 million denars will be needed for completion of the elections, and will submit a demand to the government for providing the sum. The commission decided to request documents proving Macedonian citizenship, birth and residency certificates from presidential nominees. [passage omitted]

Construction of Powerplant Scheduled for Spring

AU2009155894 Skopje MIC in English 20 Sep 94

[Text] On the basis of the years of researches, prepared projects and readiness of few foreign firms—from Austria, Switzerland, China, and Japan, in the near future the building of the capital electro-energetic capacity—the hydro-electric power plant "Cebren" in the canyon of Crna Reka Black River, in the county of Mariovo, could start.

This was announced on the day before yesterday by the general director of Electrostopanstvo of Macedonia [(Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], Nikola Spasovski, who was accompanied by the Minister of Agriculture Doctor Eftim Ancev and Minister for Economy Petrus Stefanov, visited the place where this biggest hydro-electric power plant in our country should be built.

The hydro-electric power plant, according to the words of Spasovski, will be built in seven years and will be producing 270 megawatts of electric power or 300 million kilohours on average. The dam will be 196 meters long, and the water used by the power plant will stretch over a 1,100,000,000 billion cubic meters of area. This electro-energetical giant will cost $300 million, which will be obtained mainly from the foreign investors. Building of the hydro-electric power plant is expected to start next spring.

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Federal

Allegation of Attempt To Annex RSK Rejected

LD2009220794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2138 GMT 20 Sep 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] New York, Sept 20 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav ambassador to the United Nations has rejected as "absolutely unfounded" Croatia's allegations about Yugoslavia's alleged efforts to annex Serb Krajina.

Dragomir Djokic on Tuesday sent a letter to United Nations Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali rejecting any such insinuations.

Croatia had made allegations to this effect in a letter to the United Nations on August 22.

The Federal Repubic of Yugoslavia has repeatedly stated that it has no territorial claims on any other country and accusations about its alleged intention to create a "greater Serbia" are aimed at undermining and denying Yugoslavia's crucial contribution to the peace process, Djokic said in the letter.

Yugoslavia, however, remains firm in its stand that it has a legitimate right to protect the national rights of the Serbian people, as well as the rights of its large part in the former Yugoslav republics, Croatia included, Djokic said.

The status of the Serbian people should be settled through negotiations on equal footing and on the basis of the right to self- determination, which has already been recognized to all other nations in the former Yugoslavia, the letter said.

Djokic protested against the use of the words "occupied territories" when relating to Serb Krajina.

The legitimate framework for the republic of Serb Krajina was determined by the Vance plan in December 1991, which is a formally accepted international document, Djokic said.

Under the agreement, the final status of the Krajina territory is to be determined through unprejudiced negotiations on equal footing, he said.

Croatia's insisting on terms which are contrary to the plan proposed by former mediator Cyrus Vance is aimed at justifying its threats to seize Krajina by force, the Yugoslav ambassador said.

Yugoslavia will accept any solution for the status of the republic of Serb Krajina reached in a dialogue on equal footing between its representatives and the Croatian authorities, Djokic said.

Krajina Serbs in 1991 declared independence from Croatia in their ethnic and historical territories in response to Croatia's unilateral secession from the former Yugoslav federation and the loss of national rights.

Krajina's territory was in March 1992 declared a United Nations protected area but this has failed to prevent Croatia from launching four offensives there in an effort to impose its rule.

Looting in War Areas Officially Sanctioned

AU2009150994 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Sep 94 p 24

[Report by Z. Miladinovic: "Sent to War and Prosecuted—According to the Same List"]

[Text] Nis—"More than 400 chetniks and volunteers who after the battle of Srebrenica were stationed in a special center on the Tara River above Bajina Basta in order to fight in the Srpska republic with special units of the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs are now being systematically terrorized, prosecuted, and arrested. These people, who agreed to get rid of party symbols and fight together with the Ministry of Internal Affairs special units for the Serbian people in the Srpska republic, are being prosecuted on the basis of the list drawn up at that time. Many of them have already fled to the Srpska republic in an attempt to avoid prosecution," Branislav Vakic, a Serbian Radical Party parliament member and a chetnik leader who on several occasions led volunteers of "old Serbia" into war areas, told BORBA.

He mentioned that he wanted to bring up this "phenomenon" in the Serbian assembly but assembly chairman Dragan Tomic had not allowed him to ask the question.

"It is unacceptable that Serbian patriots who were unjustly declared to be profiteers are being prosecuted in this way by the Serbian authorities and police. They are all scared, and although we are still able to send volunteers into the war areas, it has to be admitted that their number is decreasing. Serbia could be in a difficult situation tomorrow because none of the Serbian patriots will dare to defend it," Vakic added.

He illustrated the allegations about the prosecution of Radical Party [SRS] members and volunteers with the example that the SRS offices in Dimitrovgrad and Knjazevac had been stormed once and the SRS Nis headquarters four times, about which events the SRS did not receive any official report so that he is convinced it was done by the Nis police.

"Some time ago a report was published that a member of ours from Nis, Slavisa Mitrovic, who was accused by the police of weapons smuggling, had committed suicide under the influence of alcohol. This is a shameful statement since Mitrovic probably committed suicide in a state of severe depression. He lived in a dilapidated house, was out of work, and had no money. His only support was the party he belonged to; the state for which he participated in the war did not financially support

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him. He was humiliated, beaten by the police, and his house was frequently searched," Vakic claimed.

He thinks that the Serbian volunteers cannot be accused of being war profiteers and criminals. He claims that there are written certificates that empowered the Serbian authorities and police to take war booty out of destroyed Vukovar. He presented to the public a certificate issued for a special unit of the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs on 25 May 1994 allowing its members to take out of Skelani "all the things that had been taken as war booty from the territory in which combat activities had been carried out." The items are precisely stated in the certificate: a television set, a hot-water heater, two typewriters, and a stove. It is also mentioned that the certificate was issued on the basis of an order by General Mile Mrksic, commander of TG-1 [?Tactical Group-1].

"Slobodan Milosevic thought that it was opportune to declare the Serbian volunteers criminals," Vakic went on, and added that Milosevic had forgotten that they had fought in his army with his personal knowledge and the knowledge of the army command. "Our volunteers were trained, armed and flown to war areas from the Belgrade '4 July' barracks and the barracks in Bubanj Potok. Mile Ilic, a member of the Federal Assembly and chairman of the Socialist Party, provided buses for the transportation of volunteers to Skelani. They are now washing their hands of these activities by disgracefully prosecuting the patriots," Vakic said.

He stresses that at the next session of the Srpska assembly the issue of "the massive police terror against Serbian volunteers" will be raised and there will be a demand that it be stopped. He thinks that it would be good if the state checked the financial situation of every volunteer so that it could finally be proved that they are not profiteers, in contrast to the Serbian authorities and police.

Serbia

Contact Group Delegation To Meet With Milosevic

LD2109095794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0941 GMT 21 Sep 94

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—The Contact Group, made up of U.S., Russian, French, British, and German representatives, arrived in Belgrade this morning. Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic is expected to receive the Contact Group members. [passage omitted]

Montenegro

Sandzak SDA Official Views Disunity in Party

AU2109093394 Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 9 Sep 94 pp 20-22

[Interview with Rasim Ljajic, Party of Democratic Action for Sandzak official, by Seki Radoncic; place and date not given: "We Are Not for an Independent Sandzak"]

[Text] [Radoncic] Mr. Ljajic, events happening in and about your party are in the focus of attention these days. What is the essence of the problem?

[Ljajic] The direct cause of the problems that you mention is the decision made in Ankara regarding the introduction of the state of emergency in the party, which presupposes the freezing of all bodies and functions in the party, except for that of chairman. This decision is not founded either on the Statute of the party, or on any other document. Not even the political theory mentions the possibility of introducing a state of emergency in a party. The majority of members of the Main Board of the party stood up against the decision, as well as the majority of regional executive boards.

[Radoncic] What would it mean concretely if the decision on the state of emergency in the party were to be implemented?

[Ljajic] When one's culpability is to be assessed, then the council of judges meets, presently numbering more members than what calls itself the coordinate body, which should actually take over the entire jurisdiction and authority in the party. Which means, it is those people who are supposed to articulate the interests of all the people in Sandzak, as a matter of fact.

[Radoncic] The body counts five people.

[Ljajic] For the time being it is five people, although I think that the number will decrease in view of the fact that some members have already left the so-called coordinate body. It is true that the party is working in extraordinary circumstances, because a great number of people have been arrested, while some have even been banished. Politics has become a dangerous occupation for Muslims. So, the entire situation is causing a certain state of political apathy. However, these should be additional motives for mobilizing new political forces both in the party and outside it, for inspiring all the bodies of the party to take resolute political action aimed at accomplishing the basic goals of the party's platform, as well as at liberating those who are in prison.

[Radoncic] Several days ago the convention of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] for Sandzak was held in Novi Pazar, organized by the so-called coordinate body. Although you were not directly referred to at the convention, reporters say that you were the main target of criticisms.

[Ljajic] That convention is not legitimate, nor are its organizers. At the convention many accusations were issued not only against myself, but also at the expense of those who disagree with the decision on the introduction of the state of emergency in the party, and there are many such people, believe me. Seven out of nine boards that the party has is against the decision. The convention itself shows not only that the people organized in the coordinate body do not have any idea of how the crisis is

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to be settled, but also that their only political interest and goal is to maintain the privileges they now enjoy.

[Radoncic] According to journalistic reports, at the convention one could hear many war cries, threats, and so forth. How productive is all this, or rather counterproductive?

[Ljajic] I find it difficult to talk about concrete statements, because I was not present at that particular convention, but judging from newspaper reports, those statements show well enough the political immaturity of the people who organized the convention, and precisely such statements most suit the regime, which then intensifies already severe repression against the Bosniak people in Sandzak. Therefore we must not give a single argument, not even a rhetorical one, to the authorities in Belgrade and Podgorica that might give them an opportunity to justify what they are doing in Sandzak. Again, we are fully aware that, even if we are as mild as chamomile, our behavior perhaps cannot prevent all that has been happening in Sandzak. Yet, we have to be pure before God and before the people that we have done everything to prevent any escalation of clashes or conflict in Sandzak.

[Radoncic] One can hear that your political opponents from the party have even threatened to kill you.

[Ljajic] I do not take those threats particularly seriously. Actually, they only speak for the lack of any sense for political communication with people, and such threats most harm the entire Bosniak people, because through such a prism of threats the entire people is viewed.

[Radoncic] How will you overcome the current situation in the party?

[Ljajic] First of all, we are endeavoring to prevent at any price any further political polarization in the Bosniak people in Sandzak. We are ready, despite the fact that the majority of the regional boards oppose the decision on the introduction of the state of emergency in the party and the work of the so-called coordinate body, to abandon politics, only to prevent the consequences of such a situation, and to cede, with regret, the leadership of the party to the people, of whom we are convinced that they are not capable of authentically articulating the interests of the Bosniak people in Sandzak. But, as I say, the only reason for all this would be to reduce tensions, to prevent possible conflict situations, and possible polarizations. In order to avoid all this, we are ready to collectively withdraw from politics.

[Radoncic] Still, one gets the impression that your ultimate political goals are the same as those of your opponents in the party, while only the ways of accomplishing those goals are different.

[Ljajic] You are right. We are in full accord with regard to a whole range of questions. Those are: the accomplishment of a special status for Sandzak, that is, the accomplishment of a certain degree of autonomy, the sovereignty of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as our mother country, the efforts made to prevent the emigration of the Bosniak population from Sandzak, and also other questions, where there are no disagreements or dilemmas. However, there is a difference in terms of the ways and means used in accomplishing those goals. We are not promising castles in the air, we are not promising that the situation in Sandzak will change overnight, but rather that for this change a long-lasting process will be needed, and that the ultimate goal will be accomplished in stages, and particularly through many political negotiations, provided that there is a necessary degree of internationalization of the Sandzak issue. By mere restraints and waiting for somebody else to resolve our problem I do not think we shall accomplish anything.

[Radoncic] Does that mean that you are not for any change of state borders, that you do not support the idea of the independent state of Sandzak, of which you are accused?

[Ljajic] This is what many people are persistently trying to impute to us. No such claim has ever been made, in view of the fact that all our documents are based on the principle of the inviolability of the borders, for the simple reason that we thereby uphold the argument that Bosnia-Herzegovina ought to remain an integral and sovereign state, and that, as such, it has to show greater interest for the situation and position of its compatriots in other republics of former Yugoslavia. After all, the international community has also confirmed that it will not accept any revision of borders, not even in Bosnia-Herzegovina, despite the war that is being waged there, with the aim changing those borders.

[Radoncic] Your party leans upon the central office in Sarajevo, so any view from there is particularly observed among your supporters. Now it can be heard that you and Sulejman Ugljanin enjoy the full support of Alija Izetbegovic. Last week you were in Sarajevo and held talks with Izetbegovic and Ganic there. Which political option do they support?

[Ljajic] I would not talk right now about which political option President Izetbegovic supports. The fact is that we have agreed that our boycott of the elections was a wrong political move. We have also agreed with Izetbegovic and Ganic that the introduction of the state of emergency in the party actually means the introduction of a dictatorship within the party, and we definitely do not need any such dictatorship. We have also agreed that everything must be done to prevent the emigration of the Bosniak population from Sandzak.

[Radoncic] Although you once declared yourself as Muslim, now you are saying you are a Bosniak. This is what your party recommends to other Muslims as well. Would you explain that transformation?

[Ljajic] I would not say it is any transformation. Simply, it reflects our efforts to bring back into use the historic name for members of our community. By using the term

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Muslims, which is a religious term, to denote our nation, we have been done a disservice, and by this "renaming" we are just correcting the historic injustice.

[Radoncic] Many leaders and supporters of your party have been arrested. Among the public the question is raised why the warrant for the arrest of the chairman of your party Ugljanin was issued after he already fled abroad, and also why no charges have been brought against you. How do you explain this?

[Ljajic] I think that it is about a previously planned scenario, with the goal of arresting certain people in the Serbian part of Sandzak who are not directly politically involved, that is, who are not members of the party's leadership, except for one or two persons, who were supposed to confirm the party's involvement in the alleged arming of citizens, and the imputation of secessionist intentions. Which means, in Serbia it is mostly repression that has been carried out against the people. In the Montenegrin part of Sandzak, however, direct arrests of the majority of the SDA's leadership have been carried out, with the aim of filling the local people with panic, who, reportedly, were spared any major police raids or actions until then.

[Box, p 20]

[Radoncic] There have been more and more rumors in the public that there is a breach in your party, a conflict between the supporters of the moderate and those of the radical option?

[Ljajic] I could not draw a clear line between these options. It is true that there has been a certain disagreement with regard to the ways and means of getting out of the current crisis that the Bosniaks in Sandzak are stuck in. We believe that there is absolutely no alternative to political negotiations in settling all the disputed political questions, provided that the necessary degree and level of internationalization in the Sandzak question exists, but one should also not underestimate or overestimate either of the two elements of the political struggle. Therefore, we have to be aware in advance what one course of struggle can bring about, and what the other course can, and we should in neither case risk everything only to make the United Nations proclaim Sandzak's autonomy by a decree or any other document. Our experience has taught us that the international community has its own political interest in former Yugoslavia, and that it observes exclusively those interests when shaping up its political attitudes.

[Box, p 21]

[Radoncic] What is your ultimate political goal?

[Ljajic] Our ultimate political goal is the accomplishment of a certain degree of autonomy for Sandzak, which is included in the Memorandum on Special Status for Sandzak, being the document that forms the basis for any political negotiations. Of course, in the meantime we have to ensure conditions to prevent people from leaving Sandzak, that is, to prevent the change of demographic structure of the population in Sandzak, which is what the authorities are constantly trying to accomplish. We also want to form firm cultural, spiritual and economic relations with our mother country of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Sandzak SDA Accused of Issuing Death Threats

AU2009151494 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 17 Sep 94 p 25

[Report by M. Niciforovic: "Resorting to Falsifications"]

[Text] Members of Ugljanin's so-called Contact Group for Sandzak, who tried to carry out a putsch in the [SDA] Party of Democratic Action [of Sandzak] and introduce a state of emergency in the party, are threatening to kill us, they are resorting to falsifications, and trying to get hold of the independent magazine SANDZAK by fair means or foul. Notwithstanding the threats and dirty tricks of this group, SANDZAK (its policy has drastically been changed) will continue to fight for peace, democracy, and cohabitation in Sandzak.

This was stated by Sefik Krcic, editor in chief of SANDZAK, at a news conference yesterday. He stressed that Esad Dzudzevic, member of Ugljanin's group for Sandzak, and Hilmo Sacirovic, a pensioner from Novi Pazar and former technical editor of SANDZAK, together with two other members of the militant faction of the SDA from Novi Pazar and Sjenica, went to Belgrade several days ago to try to have their (Ugljanin's) version of SANDZAK printed illegally.

"We informed the Ministry of Information of Serbia, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and many other cultural institutions at home and abroad about what the members of the group are doing, as did Ismet Tadirevic, former president of the Muslim Cultural Society Preporod," Krcic said.

Sefket Krcic stressed that he had information that Sulejman Ugljanin and his men are trying to have SANDZAK printed in Turkey or Germany.

"We informed the embassies of these countries and were assured that attempts to falsify our magazine in these countries will be prevented. During his meeting with Sulejman Ugljanin in Ankara, Dzemail Suljevic, president of SDA in Sjenica and one of the members of Ugljanin's Contact Group for Sandzak, publicly stated, in front of several people, that Rasim Ljajic, I myself, and some other people in Sandzak that he does not like should be killed. If need be, I will seek protection from the Ministry of Internal Affairs," Krcic said, mentioning the case of a former deputy, Rizah Grude, who has recently been beaten up on the orders of the Contact Group.

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